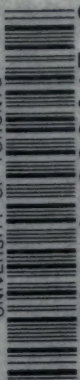


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Thomas Charles Pleydell Calley,
of Burderop Park in Wiltshire.

THE STORY OF THE
HOUSEHOLD CAVALRY

VOLUME II



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AN INCIDENT AT THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

THE STORY OF THE HOUSEHOLD CAVALRY

BY CAPTAIN SIR GEORGE ARTHUR
BART. LATE SECOND LIFE GUARDS

VOLUME II

LONDON
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THE STORY OF THE HOUSEHOLD CAVALRY

CHAPTER XLI

JUST as the battle of Dettingen had been preceded, so also it was to be followed, by a period of military inaction on the part of the Allies.* After their victory over the French in June, 1743, they continued their march to their basis of supplies at Hanau,† where the desired junction with the Hanoverians and Hessians was duly effected and a halt made till August 4th. The advance was then resumed and Worms reached. Writing from that city on September 5th to the Duke of Dorset, Secretary of State, his brother, Lord George Sackville, says :—

The Queen of Hungary, in compliment to His Majesty, has given precedence to the British troops, in which are included the Hessians

* Duke of Richmond to Duke of Newcastle:—1743, July 17th, King's H.Q. at Hanau. "Our inaction must surprise all who are not in the Closet."

† 1743, July 17th, Hanau. One Lieut.-Colonel 4 Captains 8 Subalterns and 200 men of the Cavalry from the left wing are to march this evening and post themselves between Dettingen and Hale to patrol in the wood. The Lieut.-Colonel is to-morrow morning to post partys along the main road on the field of battle side—the Horse and Grenadier Guards to give 30 horse each and march to Hale and there wait His Majesty.

and Hanoverians as being in our pay. So far, the Dutch can have no just cause to complain, but they do not see the reason why they should not have the rank of that part of the Hanover troops, which the King furnishes as Elector. As this distinction has not been made, His Majesty is unwilling to separate his troops, and this I hear is the occasion of their not having yet joined us. The Austrian Generals are for attacking the French; the English to a man are against it. For supposing the best, that we should force their lines with little loss, the only advantage would be that we should be masters of 5 or 6 miles more of a country which is so destroyed that it would not produce subsistence for more than 100 men, and the French would retire into some other strong camp, when you would have the same difficulty to get at them. (*Hist. MSS., Mrs. Stopford Sackville.*)

From Worms the route taken lay through Speyer, where 20,000 Dutch troops were added to the Allied forces, thence onward to Queich and Mainz. Shortly afterwards the army retired into winter quarters. King George returned to England, leaving behind him at Brabant the Third and Fourth Troops of the Life Guards, the Horse Grenadier Guards, and the Blues.

The year 1744 ranks with 1742 as a year of dissensions, delay, and dawdle. On March 20th France formally declared war against England at Paris, and on March 31st the English Government declared war against the French, their usual part in the ceremony being taken by the two Troops of Life Guards in London.

It would be tedious and irrelevant to dwell here on the causes of the military inertia in Flanders—destined soon to become once more the field of international strife. One reason, doubtless, was the known peril of a Jacobite invasion. But the “true inwardness” of the situation in Flanders at this period is hit off neatly by Sir John Cope in a letter to Lord President Forbes under date of October 16th, 1744 :—

The inactivity of the British troops in Flanders is believed to be due to the contrivances of the Duke d’Aremberg. A battle proposed, he was for a siege; a siege mentioned, he raised difficulties; and, the opportunity lost, he was for a battle.

The shrewd Sir John had taken the Austrian General's measure with fair accuracy. What poor Lord Stair had had to suffer in '42, it was Wade's turn to undergo in '44.

The sequel of so much enforced leisure in camp life was inevitable. From Berlinghen Lord George Sackville, in another letter to his brother, alludes to an outburst of ill feeling between the Blues and Ligonier's regiment :—

1744, June 17th. We still remain in this camp, and altho' there is another marked out nearer to Oudenarde, we are not likely to make use of it, unless the enemy give occasion by any motions that way . . . the Blues have shown their desire of fighting this campaign by picking a quarrel with Ligoniers regiment. It began with boxing, but ended with their drawing their broadswords, and four or five of the Blues are so hurt that I am afraid they will be able to give no further marks of their courage this year. (*Hist. MSS., Mrs. Stopford Sackville.*)

The question of officers' leave presented the usual difficulties. In November, 1743, Colonel Russell wrote to his wife:—

An order was issued that a return should be made through Lord Albemarle [who was commanding all the Household Troops] of all officers gone, or desirous upon special business to go, for England; and I was told by a friend that if I did not now put in my claim I might be answered hereafter that it was my own fault not to have acted sooner." (*Hist. MSS., Mrs. Russell-Astley.*)

A little sidelight on a Life Guardsman's financial arrangements is thrown by a letter from Alexander Rutherford to the Earl of Craufurd:—

"Anostain Camp, September, 1744, Sunday afternoon.—Would have waited of you but heard you was not to dine at home and am this evening for the Pickit." He encloses a letter, evidently from his father, beginning, "My dear Sandy" and signed "your affectionate father, Rutherford"—about a bill to pay £200 to a Mr. Dormer in England. By a clerk's error the bill was dishonoured—many apologies, and if presented again will be honoured, and all expenses paid. (*Archiva Lindesiana.*)

The following is a copy of the "Weekly Return of the Brigade of Life Guards" in camp dated August 3rd, 1744, which shows the service strength of the three troops under Lord Craufurd's command :—

WEEKLY RETURN OF THE BRIGADE OF HORSE GUARDS, AUGT. 3^d, 1744. O. S.

Troops.	Officers present.						Staff Officers.				Corporalls & private men.								Horses.				Wanting to complete.		Since last return.		
							Chaplains.	Adjutants.	Surgeons.	Quarter Masters.	Serjants.	Kettle Drum & Trumpets.	Drum and Hautboise	Fitt for Duty.	Sick present.	Sick absent.	Recruiting.	Furlong.	Total.	Fitt for Duty.	Sick or lame.	Absent.	Total.	Men.	Horses.	Men.	Horses.
Third Troop .	1	2	1	4	3	4	1	1	—	—	—	5	—	120	5	4	—	—	129	128	3	—	131	1	4	—	—
Fourth Troop.	1	2	2	4	3	3	1	1	—	—	3	—	—	117	3	3	—	—	125	126	6	—	132	5	3	—	—
Grenadiers .	—	1	1	2	2	—	—	1	—	—	6	—	8	109	6	5	—	—	120	128	4	—	132	2	4	—	—
TOTAL .	2	5	4	10	8	7	1	3	2	—	6	8	8	346	16	12	—	—	374	2	13	—	395	8	11	—	—

THIRD TROOP.—*Absent Officers of the Brigade* :—Major Johnson, home in England; L^t Lennard, abs^t without leave; Chaplain Fleet, in England by Gen^l Honywoods leave.

FOURTH TROOP.—*Absent Officers* :—Lieut. Taylor, Sick at Ghent; Cornet Bateman, Sick at Bruxelles; Two Trumpeters, Sick at Ghent. **GRENADIERS.**—Capt. Randall & Chaplain Vidy, in England—Marshalls leave; Andrews, Surgeon, absent without leave.

APPENDIX A

1739

A COMPUTATION OF THE FULL PAY, SUBSISTENCE, ETC., OF ONE TROOP OF HORSE GUARDS FOR 365 DAYS.

	Full Pay per day and per week.	Full Pay per ann.	Subsistence per day & wk.	Subsistence per ann.	Plumage.	Poundage.	Hospital.	Offreckonings.	Clearings.
—	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Colonel & Captain .	1 16 0	657 0 0	1 7 0	492 15 0	—	32 17 0	1 16 0	—	129 12 0
First Lieut. Colonel .	1 3 0	419 15 0	0 17 6	319 7 6	—	20 19 9	1 3 0	—	78 4 9
2 Servts Extraordinary .	0 8 0	146 0 0	2 0 0	104 5 8	—	7 6 0	0 8 0	—	34 0 4
Second Lieut. Colonel .	1 3 0	419 15 0	0 17 6	319 7 6	—	20 19 9	1 3 0	—	78 4 9
1 Servt Extraordinary .	0 4 0	73 0 0	1 0 0	52 2 10	—	3 13 0	0 4 0	—	17 0 2
Cornet .	1 2 0	401 10 0	0 16 6	301 2 6	—	20 1 6	1 2 0	—	79 4 0
Guidon .	1 0 0	365 0 0	0 15 0	273 15 0	—	18 5 0	1 0 0	—	72 0 0
One Exempt .	0 13 0	237 5 0	0 10 0	182 10 0	—	11 17 3	0 13 0	—	42 4 9
1 of Servt Extraordinary .	0 6 6	16 18 11	0 5 0	13 1 0	—	—	—	—	3 17 11
Three Exempts more .	—	762 11 9	—	586 13 0	—	35 11 9	1 19 0	—	138 8 0
One Brigadier .	0 10 0	182 10 0	0 7 6	136 17 6	—	9 2 6	0 10 0	—	36 0 0
1 of a Servt extrao .	0 6 6	16 18 11	0 5 0	13 1 0	—	—	—	—	3 17 11
Three Brigadiers more .	—	598 6 9	—	449 15 6	—	27 7 6	1 10 0	—	119 13 9
Adjutant .	0 7 0	127 15 0	0 5 6	100 7 6	—	6 7 9	0 7 0	—	20 12 9
One Servt Extrao .	1 6 0	67 15 8	1 0 0	52 2 10	—	—	—	—	15 12 10
Chaplain .	0 6 8	121 13 4	0 5 0	91 5 0	—	6 1 8	0 6 8	—	24 0 0
Chirurgion .	0 8 0	146 0 0	0 6 0	109 10 0	—	7 6 0	0 8 0	—	28 16 0
One Sub Brigadier .	0 5 0	91 5 0	0 4 0	73 0 0	—	4 11 3	0 5 0	—	13 8 9
Three Sub Brigadiers more.	—	273 15 0	—	219 0 0	—	13 3 9	0 15 0	—	40 6 3
One Pte gentleman .	0 4 0	73 0 0	1 0 0	52 2 10	1 17 4	3 13 0	0 4 0	15 12 10	—
146 Gentlemen more .	—	10,658 0 0	146 0 0	7,612 1 8	199 9 8	523 18 0	29 4 0	2,283 13 8	—
Agent 3 .	0 12 0	219 0 0	3 0 0	156 8 6	—	10 19 0	0 12 0	—	51 0 6
Kettle Drummer .	0 5 0	91 5 0	0 4 0	73 0 0	—	4 11 3	0 5 0	—	13 8 9
One Trumpeter .	0 5 0	91 5 0	0 4 0	73 0 0	—	4 11 3	0 5 0	—	13 8 9
Three Trumpeters more .	—	273 15 0	—	219 0 0	—	13 13 9	0 15 0	—	40 6 3
Exempts, Brigadiers, Ad- jutant p week each 2/- out of the full pay.	—	15 13 0	—	—	4 2 0	10 19 0	0 12 0	—	—
	—	£16,546 13 4	—	£12,076 5 4	£204 19 0	£827 6 8	£45 6 8	£2,299 6 6	£1,093 9 2

APPENDIX B

Extracts from Chamberlayne's "The Present State of Great Britain, 1743":—

I

OF THE TROOPS OF THE HOUSEHOLD.

THE Guards of Horse, which the Spaniards call Guardas dea Cavallo; the French, Gardes du Corp; the Germans, Liebgards and we Life Guard; that is the Guards of the King's Body, consist of 724 Horsemen, Officers included, well-armed and equipp'd: They are divided into four Troops.

To each Troop of Guards there is now added by establishment a Troop of Grenadiers, consisting of 44 men, Officers included.

Each of these 4 Troops is divided into four squadrons or divisions two of which, consisting of 100 gentlemen, and commanded by one principal commissioned Officer, two brigadiers, and 2 sub-brigadiers, with two trumpets, mount the Guard one day in six, and are relieved in their turns. Their duty is always, by Parties from the Guard, to attend the person of the King wheresoever he goes near home, but if out of town, he is attended by detachments out of the four Troops.

Besides this there is a more strict duty and attendance weekly on the King's person on foot wheresoever he walks, from his rising to his going to bed; and this is performed by one of the four Captains, who always waits immediately next to the King's own person, before all others, carrying in his hand an ebony Staff or Truncheon, with a gold head engraven with H.M. cypher and crown. Near him also attends another principal commissioned Officer

with an Ebony Staff and a Silver head, who is ready to relieve the Captain on occasions, and at the same time also two Brigadiers, having likewise ebony staves, headed with ivory, and engraven as the others.

One Division of Grenadiers mounts with a Division of the Troops to which they belong; they go out on small parties from the guard, perform Centinel duty on Foot, and attend the King also on foot, when he walks abroad, and always march with great detachments.

The Pay of the said Guards of Horse is as follows.

The Captains Pay of the First Troop of Guards is £1 10s. per diem
 The other three Captains, their pay is to each £1 per diem
 A Lieutenants Pay of the Guards is 15s. a day
 A Cornets Pay of the Kings Troop is 14s. per diem
 Of each of the other three Troops is 13s. per diem
 A Guidons Pay is 12s. a day
 A Quarter Masters Pay is 9s. a day
 A Chaplains Pay is 6s. 8d. a day
 A Surgeons Pay is 6s. & his Chest-Horse 2s. in all 8s. a day
 A Brigadiers, or Corporals pay of the King's troop is 7s. per diem
 Of each of the other Troops is 6s. per day
 A Trumpeter & Kettle Drummer each 5s. per diem
 A Sub-Corporal, or Sub-Brigadiers Pay is but equal to two gentlemen of a Troop viz. 4s. per day

The Pay of the Grenadiers of Horse is as followeth:—

A lieutenants pay is	8s. per day
A Sergeants pay is	4s. per day
A Corporals pay is	3s. per day
A Hautboys and Drummer's Pay is	2s. 6d. per day
A Pte Soldiers Pay is	2s. 6d. per day.

II

H.M's First Troop of Horse Guards commanded by the Ld Delawar, consisting of 181 gentlemen, Officers included.

	£	s.	d.
Captain	2	4	0*
In lieu of his servants	0	16	0

* Between this list and the list immediately preceding there are several remarkable discrepancies.

	£	s.	d.
Two Lieutenants 15s. each	1	10	0
In lieu of their servants 8s. each	0	16	0
Cornet	0	14	0
In lieu of his servts	0	8	0
Guidon	0	12	0
In lieu of his servts	0	8	0
Two exempts each 12s.	1	4	0
In lieu of one servt between them	0	4	0
Four Brigadiers 10s. each	2	0	0
Four Sub-Brigadiers 5s. each	1	0	0
Chaplain	0	6	8
Adjutant	0	7	0
Surgeon 6s. & 1 Horse to carry his chest 2s.	0	8	0
Four Trumpeters	1	0	0
Kettle Drummer	0	5	0
One Hundred and fifty six ptes at 4s. each	31	4	0
<i>Total for the First Tp.</i>	<u>45</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>

The Second, Third, & Fourth Troops of Guards, commanded by the Earl of Albemarle, , and the Lord Effingham, consist of the like numbers, and amount in all to 543 gentleman, Officers included.

N.B. The Pay of the Second, Third and Fourth Troops of Horse Guards each consisting of the like numbers, & at the same rate as the Tps above mention'd amounts to per diem,

	£136	0	0
<i>Total of the Four Tps</i>	<u>£181</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>

His Majesty's First Troop of Grenadier Guards commanded by , consisting of 176 men Officers included.

Capt & Colonel	1	0	0
In lieu of servts.	0	10	0
Lieut & Lieut Col.	0	15	0
In lieu of his servt	0	7	6
Major for himself & horse & in lieu of his servt	1	0	0
Two Lieuts & Captains, 12s. each	1	4	0
In lieu of their servts	0	10	0
Guidon & Capt.	0	11	0
In lieu of servt	0	5	0
Two Sub-Lieuts 10s. each	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Chaplain	0	6	8
Surgeon 6s. & 2s. for a horse to carry his chest	0	8	0
Adjutant	0	7	0
Six Sergeants 4s.	1	4	0
Six Corporals 3s.	0	18	0
Four Drummers 2s. 6d. each	0	10	0
Four Hautboys	0	10	0
One hundred & 45 pte men at 2s. 6d.	18	2	6
	29	8	8
Second Tp. Ld Crawford the same	29	8	8
4 Tps of H. Gds.	181	6	8
Marshal of Horse & Horse Grenadiers	£240	11	0

III

H.M.'s Royal Regt of H. Gds Blue, commanded by the E. of Hertford, consisting of 9 Tps of 40 effective pte men in each ; in all 427 Men, Officers included.

Field & Staff Officers.

Colonel, as such	0	12	0
In lieu of servts	0	7	6
Lieut Col. as such	0	8	6
Major as such	0	5	6
Chaplain	0	6	8
Adjutant	0	5	0
Surgeon & Horse	0	6	0
Kettle Drummer	0	3	0
	£2	13	8

One Troop.

Capt 10s. & 2 Horses 2s. each	0	14	0
In lieu Servts	0	7	6
Lieuts 6s. & 2 Horses 2s. each	0	10	0
In lieu of Servts	0	5	0
Cornet 5s. & 2 Horses 2s. each	0	9	0
In lieu of Servts	0	5	0
Quarter Master 4s. & for Horse 2s.	0	6	0
In lieu of Servt	0	2	6
Two Corps 3s. each	0	6	0
Trumpeter	0	2	8
Forty men at 2s. 6d. each	5	0	0
	£11	1	4

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	£	s.	d.
Allowance to widows	0	4	0
Allowance to Colonel for cloathing lost by deserters	0	5	0
Allowance to Capt for Recruits	0	4	0
Allowance to the agent	0	2	0
	<hr/>		
	£11	16	4
Pay for 8 more Trps to compleat this Regt, of like	73	0	0
Number <i>etc</i>			
	<hr/>		
Total for Regt.	£84	17	8
	<hr/>		

CHAPTER XLII

ON March 12th, 1745, the Duke of Cumberland was at the age of twenty-five gazetted Captain-General of the British army, and in April repaired to Flanders to take up his command. The Austrians were under Marshal Count Koenigsegg, a veteran of seventy-three, and the Dutch contingent was commanded by the young Prince of Waldeck.

The British Household Cavalry on active service under Lord Craufurd still consisted of the Third and Fourth Troops of the Life Guards, and the Second Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards, the brigade being completed by the Royal Regiment of Horse—"the Blew Guards." Together with the rest of the cavalry they were under the "Inspection" of Sir James Campbell, as the infantry were under that of Sir John Ligonier.

The tactical ideas of the new Commander-in-Chief were simplicity itself—to waste no time in manœuvring of any kind, but to seek the enemy and, having found him, to make a direct frontal attack on his position, whatever its character.

The Allies concentrated at Brussels on May 2nd, and began their march southwards on May 3rd. Marshal Saxe had in the meanwhile completely invested Tournay on April 30th, an operation of which Cumberland remained for several days quite unaware. The Allies, moving in a south-westerly direction, sighted the French on the 9th, and halted with their headquarters a bare mile and a half distant from the enemy.

The French, with the Scheldt protecting their rear on the west, occupied a plateau of which one edge, about a

mile in length, faced due south, while another, slightly longer, fronted the south-east. Their right, at the angle formed by the southern front with the river, was guarded by the entrenched village and castle of Antoin, and was also commanded by some heavy guns planted on the further side of the Scheldt. At intervals throughout its length were constructed three redoubts. The point of junction between the southern and south-eastern fronts was marked by the strongly fortified village of Fontenoy, the key of the French position. The south-eastern face of the plateau was strengthened by a double line of trenches, in front of which the ground sloped gently down into the plain below, towards Vezon, a mile distant. The left extremity of the south-eastern front rested on the forest of Barry, at a point guarded by two heavily armed redoubts, the foremost of these being the Redoubt d'Eu.

The total of the Allied forces was over 46,000 men, of which 34,000 were infantry and 12,000 cavalry. The right wing under Cumberland and Koenigsegg, and the left wing under the Prince of Waldeck, were as nearly as possible of the same strength, both horse and foot. The right wing was made up of 16,000 infantry—of whom 13,000 were British, and 3,000 Hanoverians; and 7,000 cavalry—of whom 4,000 were British, 1,200 Hanoverian, and 1,200 Austrian. The left wing consisted entirely of Dutch—17,000 infantry and 6,000 horse.

The Allies having on May 10th driven the French outposts out of Vezon, decided to attack next day. Straight in front of them lay the upward slope, with Fontenoy to the left and the Redoubt d'Eu to the right standing sentinel over it on either side. The direct frontal attack on the right was to be made by the British with the Hanoverians and Austrians. To the left, the Dutch were to aid them by advancing on Fontenoy itself as well as against the steep southern edge of the Fontenoy-Antoin position.

Saxe, whose army numbered 56,000 to the Allies' 46,000, made his arrangements with a view to the dispositions of the enemy. The presence of the English red-coats opposite his left decided him to mass his best troops at that end of his line, at Ramecroix, in a space hidden by the projecting forest. The trenches barring the British advance were held by twenty battalions of foot, supported by a double line of cavalry. The French right front, facing south, was strongly held by infantry and cavalry.

Before sunrise on the morning of May 11th the English troops at Vezon began the advance. The obvious course was to assault and carry the two flank positions, so as to facilitate the main attack in front. Brigadier Ingoldsby, with three regiments of foot and three cannon, was detached with orders to skirt the forest on the right and seize the Redoubt d'Eu at the point of the bayonet. These orders he affected to misunderstand, and after much parleying and hesitation ended by disregarding them altogether. That he was at this time under the influence of drink appears certain.

The cavalry were meanwhile awaiting the result of his attack on the redoubt. After a long delay, fifteen squadrons of horse—inclusive of the Life Guards and the Blues—under General Campbell, were sent forward to act as a screen while the infantry were emerging from Vezon and forming their line. To this trying ordeal the cavalry submitted patiently for an hour under a heavy cannonade both from the Redoubt d'Eu and from Fontenoy, until Campbell was hit mortally, when they were ordered to retire.

The infantry, now formed in two lines under command of Ligonier, were for two hours the object of the enemy's artillery fire. Seven guns of the English artillery were brought up on the right, and made good practice against some small field-pieces of the enemy, but could not avail to silence the cannon, which was already working havoc in the ranks of the red-coats.

Ligonier, with the cavalry division behind his two lines of foot—who had been on their legs for six hours—was waiting for Waldeck and the Dutch to act in concert on his left against Fontenoy. Waldeck began to advance against the Antoin-Fontenoy line. The Dutch were terrified by the French fire and retreated, refusing for the rest of the day to take any part in the battle, the Dutch cavalry aggravating their misconduct by rushing headlong on to the English cavalry. Thus at 11 a.m. both flank attacks had failed.

Leaving his cavalry behind—where they remained stationary till almost the end of the day—Cumberland in person led his infantry forward, the post of honour on the right of the front line being assigned to a battalion of the Grenadier Guards, with a battalion each of the Coldstream and of the Scots Guards next in order. The second line had the Buffs on its extreme right, and some Hanoverians were on the extreme left. Each battalion took with it a couple of light field-pieces.

To the sound of the drum, in unbroken line, with arms shouldered and measured step—as though on parade—the English infantry at last began their march up the long incline, exposed throughout the whole distance of half a mile to the increasingly deadly cannonade of the forts, and with the French army awaiting them at the summit of the ridge.

In all military history* it would be difficult to find anything quite like this wonderful march, which has been described once for all by Mr. Fortescue in a classical passage of which it is not too much to say that it worthily celebrates one of the finest examples of English heroism in language which may well take rank among the finest

* Count Pajol (*Guerres sous Louis XV.*, iii. 390) observes:—

“What made the contest so deadly was the strife with the British column, which is without parallel in the annals of war. The momentum of that phalanx was irresistible.”

examples of English prose. This admirable writer depicts, in terms which set the reader's blood tingling with emotion, how the double red line swept proudly on, torn by a murderous cross-fire, yet quietly closing up the gaping ranks, "the perfect order never lost, the stately step never hurried." He tells how, at last, after reserving their fire till within thirty yards of the enemy, they levelled their muskets; how "with crash upon crash the volleys rang out" in "a ceaseless, rolling, infernal fire"—two battalions loading while the third fired. The whole of the French front rank dropped—19 officers and 600 men. Next, two whole regiments were similarly disabled. The battalion guns were meanwhile worked with effect. Additional troops were brought up by Saxe; these also "went down before the irresistible volleys." So the advance went on, until it had been carried three hundred yards into the heart of the French camp.

The French artillery still played with effect on the flanks of the British battalions, which were now formed in a single prolonged square.* Then the first line of the French cavalry tried its hand at charging, but reeled back under the same terrible fire. The second line of the cavalry fared no better. At last the *Maison de Roy*, fetched from Ramecroix, was launched against the scarlet ranks, only to be sent flying back decimated and shattered.

Nevertheless the British, still between undiminished cross-fire, fell back as far as the line between Fontenoy

* Le Roi, pour donner le temps à l'Infanterie de se reformer, fit marcher en avant sa première ligne de Cavalerie, qui chargea l'ennemi avec autant de bravoure que de vélocité, mais le feu des alliés, était si violent qu'elle fut obligée de plier et de se rallier derrière la seconde qui la soutenait; cette dernière fut également forcée de céder à l'épouvantable feu qu'elle essuya Les alliés s'avisèrent de former un bataillon quarré long, qui réunissait presque toute leur Infanterie. (Du Mortous, *Histoire des Conquêtes de Louis XV. depuis 1743 jusques à la Paix conclue en 1748.*)

and the Redoubt d'Eu. Then, in hollow square with guns in the centre, they advanced again to the attack. Cumberland was relying on Waldeck's renewed promise of co-operation in the shape of an attack on Fontenoy. The Dutch refused to obey their commander, and the 16,000 British, unsupported against more than thrice their number, had to face, not only the artillery brought from the French right, but also the now rallied French Guards, and—last not least—the six fresh battalions of the Irish Brigade. For a time, even the Irish were beaten back. But the desertion of the Dutch at so critical a juncture, the new cannonade in front, and the overwhelming numbers of the enemy attacking on both flanks at once—in addition to their own frightful losses—made a retreat inevitable for these brave men, who for twelve hours had been without food or rest.

For the first time since the battle began Cumberland had at this juncture bethought himself of his splendid cavalry, and sent Lord Craufurd orders to charge. Several regiments sought to come to the rescue of the infantry, Craufurd heading his own brigade of Life Guards and Horse Grenadier Guards. In his memoirs he says that a few squadrons succeeded in getting up the slope, the while they braved "the dreadful fire" of the Redoubt d'Eu, and that they penetrated far enough "to be serviceable in covering the retreat of the infantry. Most advanced there, were two squadrons of the Blues,*

* The Blues are the only cavalry regiment mentioned by name in the official account:—"The behaviour of the Blue Guards is highly to be commended. The Lieutenant-Colonel (Beake) was wounded and the Major (Jenkinson) distinguished himself particularly on the occasion by his conduct and care." (*Gent. Mag.*, 1745.)

The Hon. P. Yorke writes to H. Walpole:—"Of particular corps the Highlanders, Guards, and Blues distinguished themselves." (Appendix to Lord Stanhope's *Hist. Eng.*)

1745, May. Capt. J. Munro to Lord President Forbes. "Your son is in good health, and suffered nothing but the loss of his horse, which was shot during our retreat. The Blues behaved well, and rubbed off

some of the Hanoverians, and some few of the Dutch and Austrians."

At this time, however, a back rush of fugitive Dutch dragoons overwhelmed many of the British cavalry, inclusive of the Life Guards; Lord Craufurd declaring that he and his charger were almost knocked over by them, and that had not the animal been of prodigious strength, he must have been trampled to death.

Craufurd had with little delay rallied the brigade of Life Guards and was moving forward, when "another body of runaways," as he says, "came upon us and broke us anew." Well served by his officers, he quickly formed line to the front again, and seeing the two squadrons of Blues "returning in the best order," begged them to align themselves on his brigade. The combined force was thus ready to take effective part in the final phase of the day's fighting.

For the retirement had now begun, and throughout its whole course was conducted in perfect order. Two battalions were sent back to secure the roads to Vezon. The *Maison de Roy* charged furiously on the retreating column, but the Foot Guards and Hanoverians repulsed them with heavy loss—one regiment of the assailants being wholly extinguished.* The infantry retired by succession of battalions, facing about and firing at every hundred yards by word of command as steadily and confidently as if on parade.

Craufurd meanwhile, addressing his men, said, "Gentlemen, mind the word of command, and you shall gain immortal honour." Then he ordered them to rein back

the stain of Dettingen" (*Culloden Papers*). For a thorough discussion of the "stain" allegation, *vide* CHAPTER XL.

* In the retreat the Earl observed a party of infantry on the right: "Gentlemen, if there are any brave volunteers who will face about, and give the enemy a fire, I will give them 20 ducats."

their horses, "on either flank closing in to form a screen for the retiring infantry";* so, keeping their ground, they held the enemy in check till the last of the retiring troops had passed; Lord Craufurd, in another of his inspiring little speeches, telling the Life Guards and Blues that "they had gained as much honour in covering so great a retreat as if they had won the battle."

The French, bent on pursuit, on perceiving that the British cavalry were advancing, had halted 100 yards from the battlefield, Marshal Saxe saying that they had "had enough of it." At last, without further molestation, the whole army reached Aeth, after a weary march of thirteen miles.

"We have not," says the official account, "lost any colours, standards, or kettledrums, but have taken one standard, and the cannon lost was left behind for want of horses, the contractor with the artillery having run off with them so easily that they reached Brussels the same day."

Of the 15,000 English and Hanoverian infantry engaged nearly 6,000 were killed or wounded. The three battalions of Guards lost, each of them, about 250 men, and none of the survivors were unwounded. The British cavalry lost 300 men and 600 horses, the Blues and Royal Dragoons showing the highest totals of casualties. Of the Blues there were killed 11 men; wounded, Colonel Black, Captain Lloyd, Captain-Lieutenant† Miget, Quartermasters Hudgson and Butt, and 49 men; missing, 7 men.

The Third Troop of the Life Guards had 4 private gentlemen and 10 horses killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lamelonière, 14 private gentlemen, and 14 horses wounded.

* Skrine, *Fontenoy*, p. 183.

† In the Blues, from 1661 to 1799, the Lieutenant commanding Lord Oxford's Troop (p. 30), or later the First or King's Troop, held the rank of Captain-Lieutenant.

In the Fourth Troop 2 private gentlemen and 4 horses were killed; and Captain Hilgrove, Cornet Bardel, 12 private gentlemen, and 3 horses were wounded, and 3 horses were missing. In the Second Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards there were killed 4 men and 3 horses; wounded, Major Brereton, Captains Eliott and Burton, Adjutant Thacker, 10 men, and 7 horses; and missing, 2 horses.

Contemporary accounts estimate the French loss at 10,000 men, but Voltaire puts it at 7,000 odd.

There was great disgust in England at the misconduct of the Dutch. The left wing had indeed proved to be less than a negligible quantity: it not only failed to perform, or even to attempt, its share of the task, but the Dutch horse, twice seized with panic during the day, actively hindered the British cavalry by charging down upon them in their flight. A similar incident happened two years later at Laffeldt, when the Dutch cavalry, flying from the French, rode over five British battalions at the crisis of the battle.

Ligonier wrote to Lord Harrington on June 7th:—"The Duke's army was but 46 battalions and 79 squadrons, and the enemy's more than double that number. And yet, *si la gauche avait secondé*—but no more of that!" Koenigsegg, writing to the same official on June 26th, said, "If the left wing had but seconded the ardour of the right, we should have gained a complete victory over an enemy whom we had already driven back in confusion." A lesson and a warning irresistibly suggest themselves. Fifty years earlier the Dutch troops of William of Orange were conspicuous for their pluck and steadiness. Now a half-century of decadent democracy had sapped the Dutch character, with resulting deterioration of moral, decay of patriotism, and national dry-rot.

APPENDIX A

A FULL, and perhaps characteristically gloomy, account of the battle of Fontenoy, from the pen of Lieutenant John Forbes, of the Blues, is to be found in the Culloden Papers.

Captain Hugh Forbes, of the Oxford Blues, writes from Edinburgh under date of May 16th, 1745, to his father, Duncan Forbes, of Culloden, Lord-President, enclosing a letter he had received from his brother John ("Jock") :—

MY LORD,—This morning, I received the enclosed from Jock. I read it only to Leven and the two Willies, because of the caution adjoined to it, and immediately clapt it under this cover for your perusal :—

Bruxelles, May 15th, 1745, O.S.

"Dear Hugh,—Don't be surprised I have not wrote to you of late. My hurry has been beyond what almost any body could bear, and I am now the 8th night without seeing a bed. I suppose you will have heard of our endeavour to raise the siege of Tournay, in which we failed. I won't ascribe the cause, although I know it, but sure never troops behaved with more intrepidity than the English, nor suffered so much.

"In short there was but one way of marching into the ground where we were to form our line, which was through the village of Vezon. The opening would not allow more than 14 or 20 abreast; and from thence to the French batteries a rising ground like a *glacis*, and they at half cannon shot distance.

"Gen. Campbell, with 12 squadrons, was ordered through the Defilee first, as a corps to cover the opening, while the infantry marched in, which, as they marched from the right, formed as soon as they went in, so one regiment covered another, till they formed all the way to the left. You may believe all this took up a good deal of time, in which the French batteries played incessantly on the 12 squadrons, and on the troops as they formed. We formed with all the regularity in the world, and marched up towards the enemy, who were all along upon the height

with their different batteries, the whole length of which run a hollow way, that they had made a very good entrenchment.

“Off we beat them out of this hollow way and gained the height, whence we had the first view of their bodies about 200 paces distance. Here we dressed our lines and began to march towards them when, pop, they went into another entrenchment, extremely well provided, and flanked with batteries of cannon. Nevertheless on we went, drove them from that, which was the first small shot we had opportunity to make use of from the beginning, which was now near 6 hours. Upon the flanks of our Right Wing, there was the village of Ribancroix,* and betwixt our right wing and the Dutch, there was the village of Fontenoy, which the Dutch engaged to make themselves masters of it early in the morning, but not having rightly reconnoitred it, found to their surprise a fosse round it, and that the French by cutting the roofs of the houses and letting them fall in, had raised so many cannon upon the rubbish as to make the place impregnable.

“This galled our left wing and kept them from advancing, and cut off the communication with the right wing; the left of which, being much exposed, was terribly treated with the Cannon, which also raked us all along to the right flank. The Highlanders forced into the village of Ribancroix* on the right; but the multiplicity of cannon that played on them made them retire. All the lines being now dress'd, although from the narrowness of the ground we were in several places four or five lines one behind another, the front advanced again towards the enemy, had several discharges from all their batteries; nevertheless marched forward and got nigh enough to have a second discharge of their small arms, which made the French give way, but broke our lines, from the number of men killed, both by musketry and batteries that never ceased.

“Here we endeavoured to rally, but from an order given (by whom God knows) the drums began to beat a retreat, upon which the whole went right about, and retired with too much precipitation to the village of Vezon. The Cavalry did the same, but as they were obliged to pass the corner of the wood into wh. Graffins Pandours, with pieces of Cannon loaded with grape shot, were thrown, almost every squadron had a salvo as they passed. As we retired, the French cannon advanced to the height where they were first in the morning, playing upon the rear till we all got through the village of Vezon. Here Lord Crawford distinguished himself by getting some broken battalions and some squadrons to front the enemy, and make the rear guard till they passed the whole defilee.

“The French remained where they were in the morning, and we rallied the army at the head of our Camp, struck our tents that night, and marched early next morning to Ath.

* For Ramecroix.

"Dr Hugh, show this only to particular friends, and give no copy of it to any." (*Culloden Papers.*)

Voltaire wrote :—On n'en a pas moins loué la valeur et la conduite de cette nation. Les anglais se rallièrent, mais ils cédèrent ; ils quittèrent le champ de bataille sans tumulte, sans confusion, et furent vaincus avec honneur.

APPENDIX B

THAT the popularity which the Duke of Cumberland gained at Dettingen waned—at any rate in the Army—after Fontenoy would appear by the following excerpts from "A Dialogue between *Thomas Jones*, a Life-guardman, and *John Smith*, late a Serjeant in the First Regiment of Foot-Guards, just returned from *Flanders*." (London, 1749) :—

Jones.—Pray tell me how you came to quit the army.

Smith.—'Sblood, because no man of honour will stay it now ; I had rather black shoes upon the parade than wear a cockade.

Jones.—Why . . . you told me when you and I parted, that you would fight blood up to the ears, if the ——* was but there.

Smith.—So I would then ; for there was not a better man living in the world than he was at that time : but now he is a d—l. . . . Ever since he has had this high command, he is grown one of the proudest, haughtiest, good-for-nothing jackanapes that ever lived, and uses us like scoundrels. . . . Don't you remember how we were used after the battle of Det——n ; how we were starving, while the H——ns lived in plenty. . . .

Jones.— . . . Would his ambition never condescend to an *E——sh* G——l's opinion in a council of war.

Smith.—To an *E——sh* G——l ; no, no, *Tom*, nor a *H——n* G——l neither ; for he is puffed up with self-conceit, that he thinks no body's opinion so good as his own. . . . He'll listen to nobody. . . .

Jones.—But did not he call a council of war before the battle of *Fontenoy*.

* The Duke.

Smith.—Yes; but what then, he rejected everything that was proposed, if it was contrary to his opinion; for it was thought by our g——ls a thing not practicable to attack the *French* as they were intrenched up to the chin, without sacrificing the whole army. But up gets he, and with a roaring voice cries, Sir, I am your commanding officer, and I will be obeyed. . . . Poor g——l ——* foresaw all this. Says he, when he was carried away after his leg was shot off, *Gentlemen, I have received my death in defence of my country, therefore die satisfied. But this day will never bring honour to E——d. . . . You are sacrificed to a boy's pleasure.*

The Duke is charged with indifference as to the ill success of his army, as well as with personal conceit:—

Smith.— . . . He took a delight to order us under arms, that he might have the honours of C——n G——l † paid him.

Jones.— . . . He takes delight in coming thro' the H——e G——d, that we may be under arms to pay homage.

The dialogue concludes with an amiable surmise that the Duke of Cumberland is prepared, when his father dies—if not before—to “catch at” the Crown itself.

* General Campbell.

† Captain-General.

CHAPTER XLIII

AFTER a five days' stay at Aeth, the Allies fell back on Lessines, and soon afterwards the prospect of a Jacobite invasion of England caused the return of the British troops homewards. By the end of October they had all left Flanders, including Cumberland himself. As Craufurd briefly records, "the reduction of Tournay was followed by the reduction of Ghent, Bruges, Oudenarde, Dendermonde, Ostend, Nieuport, Aeth and Brussels, without any opposition from the confederate army." The Jacobite rising of '45 and the series of operations ending with Culloden, as also the Flanders campaign of 1747, are outside the scope of the present work, since neither the Life Guards nor the Blues took any immediate part in these events. In April, 1748, were signed the preliminaries, and in October the definite treaty, of Aix-la-Chapelle. The chief advantage derived by this country from the war now closed was the military training and experience it afforded to our soldiers.

In accordance with a time-honoured precedent, the cessation of hostilities was the signal for a wholesale disbandment of British regiments, and a large reduction in the strength of those that survived. King George, after the suppression of the Jacobite rising, was persuaded to reduce his Life Guards from four Troops to two:—

1746. December 22nd. (W. O.)

H.M. having thought fit to order the Third and Fourth Troops of Horse Guards to be disbanded on Wednesday next, being the 24th inst. and that the First and Second Troops of Horse Guards should be

completed with 20 private gentlemen to each from the Gentlemen belonging to the Third and Fourth Troops so that the two remaining troops consist of 150 effective private Gentlemen in each; and H.M. having ordered that such men from the First and Second Troops as shall be recommended to Chelsea Hospital be replaced by men out of the two Troops to be disbanded, who are to carry their arms with them; I have the honour to ask your Grace to order a proper officer to collect the arms of the private Gentlemen belonging to the Third and Fourth Troops who shall be disbanded, and of such private Gentlemen of the First and Second Troops who shall be discharged and placed upon the pension of Chelsea Hospital.

H. Fox.

To His Grace the D. of Montagu,
M. G. of Ordnance.

(*Secretary's Common Letter-Book.*)

A further letter of the same date asks the Duke for the Standards, Banners, and Kettle-drums from the Third and Fourth Troops, to be received into His Majesty's Wardrobe.

Accordingly the Third and Fourth Troops were disbanded on December 24th, the corps being for the next forty-two years composed of two Troops of Life Guards and two Troops of Horse Grenadier Guards. It is not easy to understand on what principle the term Grenadier was retained, for the hand grenade had long since gone out of use. The officers of the disbanded Troops received half-pay, besides annuities, and became officers *en seconde* to the surviving Troops, into which also many of the private gentlemen were admitted.

Pensions were granted for long service, and the Lifeguardsmen not yet provided for were given annual allowances, while a good number received commissions in line regiments. The House of Commons presented an address of thanks to the King for having in this and other ways lessened the expense of the Army, and undertook to compensate those whose services were no longer required.*

* 1746, December 23rd. A letter to Pitt directs that £30 shall be paid to each disbanded private Gentleman from the Third and Fourth Troops, if he so choose, in lieu of all claims or pretensions whatever,

The King's assent to a reduction of the Army served to whet the appetite of the Peace-at-any-price party, who in a few years were clamouring for further reductions. In the House of Commons on November 27th, 1751, during a debate on the Army estimates, Fox proposed that the strength of the army should be the same as last year.

Lord Egmont, opposing this, offered a compromise—that Parliament should reduce the cavalry and suppress the Staff, which would save £143,000. He urged that the King had shown by a former reduction that, though he ought not to be without guards, he disliked mere show. Lord Egmont was willing that the Grenadiers should still be kept up for the security of the King's person, but he wished to break the Life Guards and the Blues.

Pelham replied, in a very dull speech, that the reduction proposed was a poor pittance if real economy was intended; that indeed, if it were worth while, the Blues might be changed; he had not much objection to it, although they had always had the title of Guards; that seventy men are as much as one officer can command; that a further reduction would be dangerous.*

except their cloaks, clothes, swords and belts. The money computed for 50 men out of each troop is to be paid at once to the Agents.

The men discharged from the First and Second Troops for Chelsea had their daily pension made up from 5*d.* to 12*d.* They were allowed to take their cloaks, clothes, boots and swords; their other accoutrements and horses to be sold by two commissioned officers, and the money to remain in the agents' hands to be disposed of as His Majesty should direct.

* A fuller report gives Lord Egmont's speech as follows:—"Our Sovereign has shown he despises such grandeur as consists in nothing but expense, by disbanding two of the Troops of Guards and reducing all the regiments of horse but one to dragoons. A much greater reduction may be made in our Guards, and the remaining regiment of horse may likewise be reduced. By having no staff, which is quite useless in time of peace, we may save yearly about £140,000."

Mr. Pelham (continues the same report) said that no great reduction was ever made of the regular troops in this island but what occasioned an insurrection or a plot towards an insurrection. The foot guards

A division resulted in Lord Egmont's motion being overthrown by a majority of 140, only Lords Middlesex and Martyn, of the late Prince of Wales's faction, voting with Lord Egmont and the Speaker.

On January 9th, 1747, a detachment of Life Guards performed the tragic duty of attending the execution of Lord Lovat for high treason on Tower Hill.

An important epoch in the history of the Household Cavalry was marked by the erection of the building known as the Horse Guards in Whitehall, of which the first stone was laid about 1750, King George the Second passing through its archway for the first time in 1751.

At a time when architecture—like most other fine arts—was at its lowest ebb in the latter half of the 19th century, it was the fashion to level cheap sneers at the Horse Guards: Charles Knight, with ignorant presumption, denouncing it as the ugliest building in London. A better-instructed taste has seen in the Horse Guards an extremely picturesque design, admirably proportioned, and infinitely superior in point of refinement to the neighbouring erections of a more modern period.

Its original purpose is stated to have been to constitute a barrack for two troops of the Blues on the ground floor of either wing. Lord Ligonier, whose commission as Commander-in-Chief was dated 1757, did not fix his headquarters at the Horse Guards, but dated all his Orders from Knightsbridge. At that time the Horse Guards building was partly used as the office of the Secretary-at-War.

The King in 1756 gave his sanction to an important cannot be reduced lower than they are at present, and the remaining troops of horse guards are not really sufficient for the service of the several branches of the Royal Family, for their service is, and must often be, supplied by detachments from the Blue regiment of horse, which makes it impracticable to reduce that regiment to dragoons, as all the rest of the regiments of horse have already been.

change in the internal constitution of the Troops of the Life Guard. Hitherto there had been no non-commission or warrant officers in the Life Guards, the duties of such grades being entrusted to the "right-hand men." At Christmas of this year, however, it was ordered that the four senior right-hand men of each troop should be warrant officers bearing the title of Quartermasters, and that the four junior right-hand men should be N.C.O.'s, styled Corporals-of-Horse. The Horse Grenadier Guards,* however, had always been regarded as mounted infantry, like dragoons, and therefore had sergeants and corporals. They invariably formed the advance-guard to all detachments of the Life Guards.†

The Blues arrived in the Thames from Flanders in February, 1745, and were at once quartered at Aylesbury, Wendover, Uxbridge and other places in the neighbourhood. Here they remained during the scare caused by

* The troopers of the Horse Grenadier Guards were never styled "private gentlemen."

† In 1750, according to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April 4th, a certain Lifeguardsman was seized with the ambition to shine as an expert in seismology:—

"An incredible number of people being under strong apprehension that London and Westminster would be visited by another and more fatal earthquake on this night, according to the predictions of a crazy Lifeguardsman, left their houses and walked the streets or lay in boats all night. Many people of fashion sat in their coaches till daybreak; others went to a great distance so that the roads were never more thronged, and lodgings were hardly to be procured at Windsor."

The ambition of another Lifeguardsman tended rather in the direction of spiritual earthquakes:—

1763, February 26th. "Yesterday, one Bell, a corporal in the Life Guards, was taken up for preaching in an unlicensed Meeting house and taking upon himself to discover to people the state of their consciences, and even foretell the end of the world, to the great terror of the weak and illiterate audience." (*Annual Reg.*, 1763, p. 58.)

the Jacobite advance southwards. Their headquarters were afterwards fixed at Northampton, but a detachment was kept at Kingston-on-Thames, to perform supplementary duties about the Court, especially the escorts detailed for the King's journeys to and from the port of embarkation on the frequent occasions of his visits to Hanover. Their commander, the Duke of Somerset, died on February 7th, 1750 ; his successor, the second Duke of Richmond, appointed on February 13th, died on August 8th the same year.

Probably owing to the King's protracted absence abroad two years and a half elapsed before the vacant post was filled up by the appointment of that illustrious officer, Sir John Ligonier, on January 27th, 1753. On his promotion, five years later, to the command of the Grenadier Guards,* the colonelcy of the Blues was most happily bestowed upon John, Marquess of Granby, appointed May 13th, 1758.

War was once more declared with France in 1756, and the Blues were destined to see some further active service.

* John Ligonier, b. 1680, served as a volunteer in Marlborough's army 1702, bought a company in the 10th foot, comm. the 8th horse known as Ligonier's (now 7th D.G.'s), brig.-gen. '35, cr. a knight banneret on the battlefield at Dettingen by Geo. II. in person '43, prom. lt. gen. '43, comm. British tps. in the Netherlands '46, lt. gen. of the ordnance '48, col. of 2nd D.G.'s '50, col. of the Blues '53, field marshal c.-in-c. (without the rank of capt. gen. held by Cumberland) & col. of 1st foot guards '57, master-gen. of ordnance '59 ; cr. visct. Ligonier (peerage of Ireland) '57 ; baron Ligonier (peerage of Gt. Brit.) '63, earl Ligonier '66, d. '70.

CHAPTER XLIV

IN 1756 Frederick of Prussia, being threatened simultaneously by France, Austria, Russia, Saxony, and Sweden, boldly invaded Saxony, thus beginning the Seven Years' War.

Hanover was now in danger of a French inroad, and in England public opinion was deeply incensed by the loss of Minorca, by the French successes in America, and by the mismanagement of the British fleet. Newcastle and Fox went out of office, and William Pitt came in as Secretary-of-State. The military spirit of the people was thoroughly aroused, and showed itself in the resolve that henceforth English troops, not mercenaries, should fight the country's battles, and by the passing of the Militia Bill in June, 1757. The King, who had an old grudge against Pitt, soon found a pretext for dismissing him; but the step was so extremely unpopular, that it was found necessary not only to reinstate Pitt, but to concede to him a free hand in the prosecution of the war.

In October, 1757, the Hanoverian army of 30,000 men was placed at the disposal of Prussia, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick* being in November appointed to supreme command. By the spring of 1758 he had already driven the French, first out of Hanover, and then across the Rhine. In June he followed them over the Rhine, won the battle of Crefeldt, and then retired east of the Rhine to await British reinforcements at Lippstadt.

* Brother of the reigning Duke of Brunswick. Carlyle describes him as "a soldier of approved excellence," and commends his noble-mindedness and valour.

Pitt instantly announced the King's intention to send over 2,000 British cavalry to join the Prince. In the sequel the British troops sent in July and August numbered 10,000—some say 12,000—horse and foot. The cavalry consisted of the Blues*, First and Third Dragoon Guards, Scots Greys, Inniskillings, and 10th Hussars.

The Duke of Marlborough was in nominal command, but the idea was that he should be "wet-nursed" by another soldier, Lieutenant-General Lord George Sackville, who, as his principal subordinate, had authority to organise the operations, while Major-General the Marquess of Granby was chosen as commander of the cavalry contingent.

In July, 1758, Granby arrived at Emden from Harwich, and carried out his orders to proceed at once with the Blues and other cavalry to join Prince Ferdinand. The transports had difficulties of navigation at the mouth of the Ems, but Granby procured a number of large boats and landed his horses without mishap. The Duke and his contingent joined Prince Ferdinand at Coesfeld, a little to the west of Münster, on August 21st, 1758. In October, Marlborough died of enteric fever; Sackville was his successor, and Granby became second in command. In mid-November the troops all went into winter quarters till March, 1759.

* 1758, July 5th. The Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, being ordered on immediate foreign Service, and it being necessary they should be provided with a complete set of cuirasses and scull caps, which they have not time to provide in the ordinary way, I desire you will acquaint the Board of Ordnance that it will greatly facilitate the Service if they will give directions for their being furnished with a compleat set of cuirasses and Scull Caps from H.M. Stores, on their being replaced by others or paid for by the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, as the Board of Ordnance shall think fit.

BARRINGTON.

W. Bogdani, Esq.

(*Secretary's Common Letter-Book.*)

Similar orders were issued to "compleat the other cav^y with swords also."

Pitt was determined at all hazards—including the danger of an invasion of England*—to keep as large a French army as possible occupied in Germany, as a diversion from the numerous other points in Asia and America at which England was trying conclusions with France.

In 1759 Frederick, so far from being able to deal with a French advance from the west, found enough to occupy him in coping with the Saxons and Austrians to the south and the Russians to the east. The Allied army under Prince Ferdinand served the purpose of covering Prussia's western flank, but its primary object was to defend Hanover, Brunswick, and Hesse Cassel.

The French had two armies—the northern army of the Rhine, with its headquarters at Wesel on the Lower Rhine, from which base it threatened Westphalia, if not Hanover; and the southern army, originally of the Upper Rhine, now (by the seizure of Frankfurt) the army of the Main, which menaced Hesse.

Roughly speaking, the seat of war lay within a great rectangle, of which the Rhine and the Weser were the western and eastern sides, the northern being the sea-coast and the southern the Main.

By holding Münster, Ferdinand could hope to check a French advance from Wesel into Westphalia; and Lippstadt was for him an important link between Westphalia and Hesse, as lying midway between Münster and Cassel.

A French advance from the south direct on Cassel was hindered by a network of rivers.

In the spring of 1759 Ferdinand, holding a line from Münster to Lippstadt and Paderborn—thus facing nearly south—sought with 12,000 English, 30,000 Hanoverians,

* In 1759 the land forces retained for home defence were the two Troops of Life Guards the Horse Grenadiers, 7 regiments of dragoons, 3 regiments of Foot Guards, and 34 regiments of foot. (*Annual Register*.)

and some other German troops to tackle the French army of 80,000 men, of which the main portion, under Marshal Contades, was stretched along the Rhine from Wesel southward to Coblenz, while the remainder, under Marshal De Broglie, was at or near Frankfurt.

Ferdinand having occasion to move south-east to Fulda to drive away an Austrian force, left Sackville and Von Spörcke with 25,000 men near Münster, and then utilised the opportunity to go farther and on April 13th to attack Broglie at Bergen, north-east of Frankfurt. He had 24,000 men to Broglie's 30,000, and being repulsed with a loss of 2,000 was compelled to retreat in a north-easterly direction towards Cassel. Granby's cavalry did good work, the Blues having one officer and four troopers wounded.* The French had a great superiority in artillery, but their casualties were thrice as many as those of the Allies.

A fortnight later Contades divided his army into four corps—keeping two at Wesel, and placing one each at Düsseldorf and Cologne. Ferdinand, greatly puzzled, but believing the French objective to be Münster, elected to join Spörcke, though he left 16,000 men in Hesse.† Contades, on the other hand, sending 15,000 men to threaten Münster, marched south, joined Broglie, and advanced northwards into Hesse. In the manœuvring that followed, Contades, relying on his greatly superior numbers,

* Granby writes to Newcastle from Alsfeld, April 15th, 1759:—"I am sorry this letter is not dated from Frankfort. All the infantry engaged behaved with greatest bravery; but the enemy was so strongly posted that Duke Ferdinand, finding it would be impossible to force the village without immense loss, determined to withdraw, which he did without the least molestation from the French. The British cavalry escaped well. The Greys lost 1 horse; my Regt. (Blues) had seven horses killed by the enemy's cannon, four wounded; four men wounded, one of whom I suppose is dead, being left behind. Two of the others have lost their arms; one officer was wounded by a small shot. I can assure Your Grace our three Regts. received the cannonading that came to their share with the utmost firmness." (*B. Mus. Add. MSS.* 32, 890.)

went steadily on his way towards an invasion of Hanover by way of the Weser, Ferdinand continually falling back before him. At last, at the end of June, the French had arrived at the Weser, and were threatening both Minden and Hameln. Cassel was already lost, and Ferdinand was obliged to abandon Münster in order to concentrate on the Weser. Suddenly he heard that Minden had been surprised on July 10th, and that thus the French had forced the door into Hanover. Contades had so far succeeded beyond expectation. He had invested Münster and Lippstadt, in Westphalia; he had taken Cassel in Hesse; and now he had surrounded Hameln and captured Minden on the Weser. It looked as if nothing could avail to hinder the French from over-running Hanover.

Ferdinand's first care was to protect his magazine at Nienburg, lower down the Weser, thirty miles north of Minden. On July 14th his headquarters were between the two, at Stolzenau.

Past Minden, and for a long distance beyond, the Weser runs from south to north, the town being situated on the left bank. A little above Minden the river, before turning northwards, has been flowing from west to east, in continuation of the course of its tributary, the Werre.

On the left bank of the Werre-Weser stream, and running parallel with it from west to east, is a range of wooded hills. North of these, and also parallel to them, runs a streamlet named the Bastau, joining the Weser at Minden. Alongside of the Bastau, at an average width of two hundred yards, extends a morass seven or eight miles long, its western extremity being at the village of Hille, and its eastern at Minden.

Contades established himself on the Minden side of the Weser, sending Broglie with a considerable force across the river to encamp on the right bank.

Ferdinand's army numbered 41,000 men, with 170 guns,

against the French 51,000, with 162 guns. But Contades was in no hurry to fight, and it was necessary, if Hanover were to be saved, to force him to accept battle. On July 16th Ferdinand's headquarters had been advanced southwards to Petershagen on the Weser, about six miles due north of Minden. Six days later he ostentatiously pushed forward a division under General Wangenheim to encamp on some high ground, where he was entrenched with two batteries only six hundred yards from the enemy; whilst Ferdinand himself, with the main body of his army, quietly moved south-west, out of sight of the French, till on July 29th he was westward of Minden, at seven miles' distance, with his right resting on the morass, and his headquarters at Hille. Then he advanced pickets to occupy a number of villages and hamlets in front both of his own and of Wangenheim's camp; others he sent forward along the road skirting the morass, first as far as Sud Hammern, then farther on to Hartum, hoping eventually to seize Hahlen, which last position was less than three miles from the walls of Minden.

Nor were these all Ferdinand's preparations. He posted a guard near Hille, at the only road crossing the morass; he detached the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick with 10,000 men to Gohfeld on the Werre, besides 2,000 men to Lübbecke, to keep up communications with him.

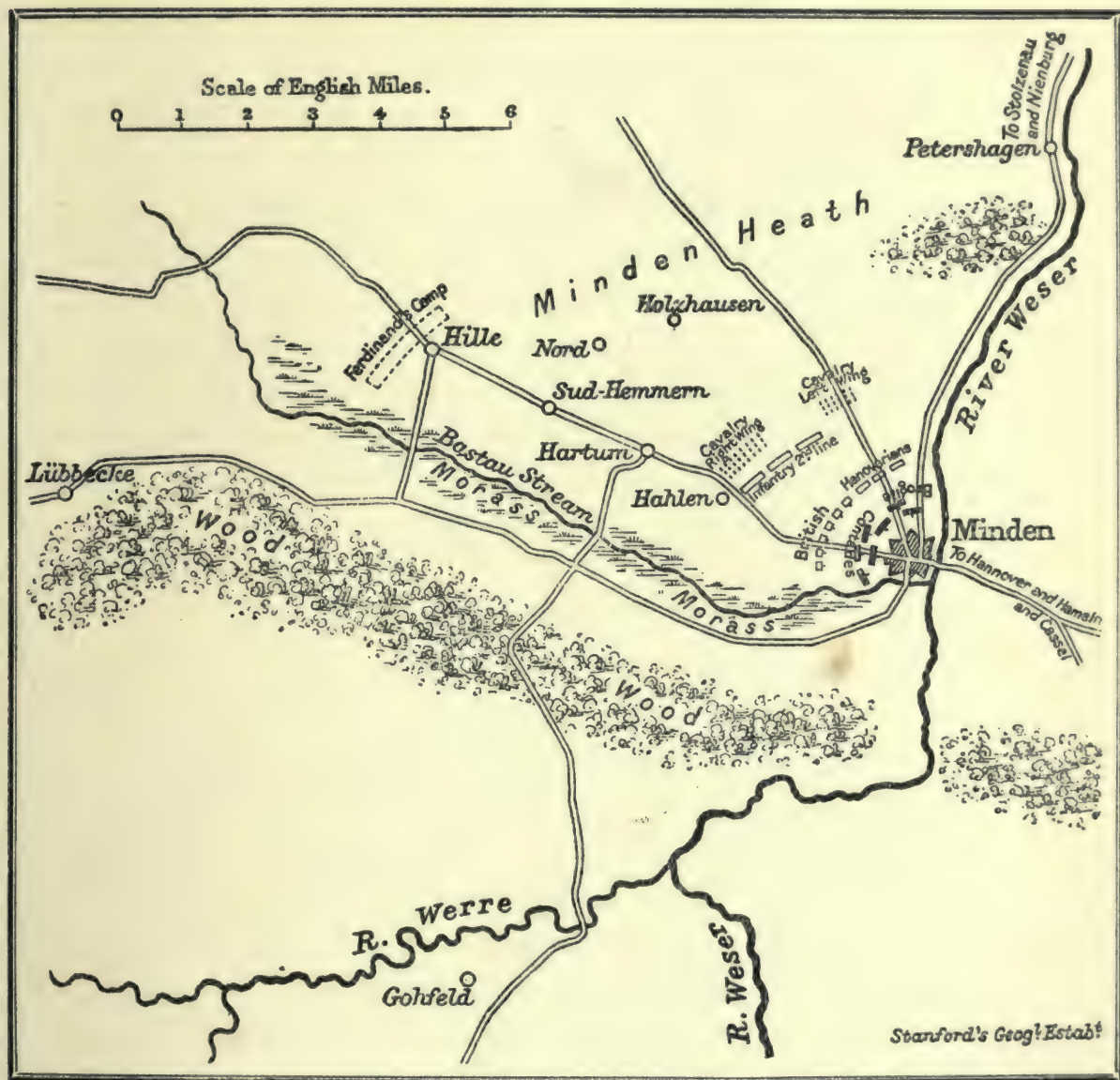
Contades had his camp to the south of Minden, with his right resting on the town and the Weser, and his left on the wooded hills, which also protected his rear. In front was the Bastau, with the morass beyond. The French marshal, in his impregnable position, was contemptuous of an enemy whose force was extended over so long a line; yet, feeling somewhat uneasy at the presence of the Hereditary Prince to his rear, and the consequent menace to his communications, he sent the duc de Brissac to Gohfeld with 8,000 men.

CHAPTER XLV

BEFORE one o'clock in the morning of August 1st, 1759, the French were already astir. Contades had summoned Broglie across the river to a position on the north of Minden, facing Wangenheim, whom he was to attack.* Contades brought his own army across the Bastau in eight columns, and took up his position under the walls of Minden. The French line curved outwards round the town, Broglie being on the extreme right resting on the Weser, his infantry being in front, supported by cavalry and with two batteries in advance. On his left was Contades's force, arranged in the unusual formation of a cavalry centre—consisting of 55 squadrons, with 18 more in reserve—and infantry wings, one in touch with De Broglie, the other resting on the morass to the extreme left.

Ferdinand was the victim of four untoward incidents, any one of which might have lost him the day. The first was the criminal neglect of the Prince of Anhalt to report the movements of the French for two whole hours after he was aware of them. The moment he received Anhalt's intelligence, at 3 a.m., Ferdinand set his army in motion in eight columns—the infantry in the centre, with cavalry on either flank, the left wing soon getting into touch with Wangenheim.

* De Broglie's attack on Wangenheim's position did not get beyond a cannonade. Napoleon in after years attributed the French defeat at Minden in great degree to the blundering and irresolution of De Broglie, of whom he said:—"Ce général fut coupable; il était mal disposé et jaloux de son chef." (*Précis des Guerres de Frédéric.*)



THE BATTLE OF MINDEN.

The second of the incidents already mentioned was the unreadiness of Sackville's cavalry to advance with the rest of the line, and the total disappearance for a time of the commander himself.* This preliminary delay on the part of twenty-four squadrons, of which fifteen consisted of the Blues, First and Third Dragoon Guards, Scots Greys, and Tenth Dragoons, was of evil omen for what was to happen later.

In spite of this serious default, matters began to look well on the right, along the edge of the morass, where Captain Foy's battery of British artillery rendered good service, and was presently reinforced by Macbean's battery and by some heavy Hanoverian guns.†

Meanwhile Ferdinand's third misfortune took shape in a misunderstanding of orders by the first line of Spörcke's British infantry, which started off before the second line was ready, so that the latter were a good deal in rear of their comrades in front.

But now ensued that which, for all time, will be remembered as one of the greatest marvels recorded in military annals. Six British regiments, whose names can never be forgotten—the 12th (Suffolk Regiment), 37th (1st battalion Hampshire Regiment), and 23rd (Royal Welsh Fusiliers) in the front rank under Brigadier Waldegrave, and the 20th (Lancashire Fusiliers), 51st (1st battalion King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry), and 25th (King's Own Scottish Borderers), forming the second line under Brigadier Kingsley, with three battalions of Hanoverians—these, incredible as it may seem, attacked and put to flight forty battalions and sixty squadrons.

This is literally what these heroes did. They accomplished the first two hundred yards of their advance under

* It is only fair to say that the court-martial acquitted Sackville on this charge, though Mr. Fortescue seems to regard it as proved.

† Some British gunners with Wangenheim also made good practice.

heavy and only too effective artillery fire, which increased in severity as they approached nearer and nearer to the dense mass of French cavalry. Then eleven squadrons of the enemy's horse, charging straight at them, received, at a distance of ten yards, one of the murderous volleys that had done such grim execution at Fontenoy.

This over, the six regiments calmly resumed their majestic march forward. But now they sorely needed support. Not only was there another line of French horse ready to renew the attack, but the enemy's infantry on the left—four brigades of them—wheeled round to the right, and, aided by thirty-two guns, were about to assail the British flank. This surely was the critical moment for Sackville with his Blues,* Scots Greys, Dragoon Guards, and Dragoons, to support his brave countrymen. The Commander-in-Chief sent two aides-de-camp in quick succession to the British General to order his immediate advance, but the message was totally disregarded. Ferdinand's greatest trial was now to be faced.

Something must be done, and Ferdinand brought up Phillips's heavy guns to aid the infantry in their predicament. For a moment, but only a moment, the ranks of the British regiments seemed to yield to the fresh onset of the French horse. But they rallied, and having at close quarters delivered a volley which rid them of the hostile cavalry, turned instantly upon their other assailants of the Foot, and drove them also back with heavy loss.

* 1764, February. Walpole, writing to the Earl of Hertford, makes a malicious allusion to Sackville's failure to lead up the Blues:—

“The debate (on American Taxation) hobbled on very slowly, when on a sudden your brother (Conway) arose and made such a speech. Imagine fire, rapidity, argument, knowledge, wit, ridicule, grace, spirit—all pouring like a torrent, but without clashing. It was unique. Ellis, the forlorn hope, presented himself in the gap, till the Ministers could recover themselves, when, on a sudden, Lord G. Sackville led up the Blues”—*i.e.*, the Tories.

Once more at this juncture Ferdinand sent an aide-de-camp post haste to Sackville, whose men were chafing under their enforced inactivity; yet not a squadron stirred, It was well that Ferdinand had some other infantry ready to aid the harassed battalions; the third line of French horse tried to break through the red ranks, and succeeded in penetrating the first—to be itself repulsed with terrible loss by the second.

Ferdinand yet once again sent a fourth aide-de-camp at headlong speed to order Sackville to complete the rout of the enemy. Lord George professed still to misunderstand his "meaning," and trotted off in person to the Prince to make inquiries. Ferdinand in despair had already sent a fifth aide-de-camp, this time direct to Lord Granby, who was at the head of the second line of the cavalry, observing "I know he, at least, will obey me." To Sackville, as in leisurely fashion he rode up and saluted, the Prince coldly said, "My Lord, the opportunity has now passed." As Sackville was returning, he met Granby advancing with the second line and abruptly ordered him to halt.* Granby, however, on receipt of another order from the Prince, persisted in going forward. But it was now all too late. He never got near the enemy. The French troops had retired under the guns of Minden—defeated, indeed, but not annihilated, as they might and should have been. The honour which ought to have fallen to Sackville's cavalry was reaped by the German horse from the left wing, who—in combination with the Allies' artillery—finished what

* At the court-martial on Sackville Lieutenant John Walsh, Adjutant of the Blues—Lord Granby's own regiment, which was naturally eager to leave the first line and follow him with the second—in giving evidence of the halting of Granby's division by Sackville, said that Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston commanding the Blues sent him to Lord Sackville to say "the second Line was advancing and might the Blues follow." Lord George said "No," and instantly sent Lieutenant Walsh to halt the second line.

the British infantry had so well begun. Foy and Macbean in particular worked wonders during the pursuit, moving their guns with great rapidity alongside of the morass and creating a panic amongst the flying enemy.

The Hereditary Prince having rendered a good account of Brissac, Contades became demoralised, crossed the Weser in the night, and retreated by a devious route to Cassel.

On the side of the Allies there were 2,600 casualties, of which 1,400 were British—81 officers and 1,311 men. The "six Minden regiments" had 30 per cent. killed and wounded, the Hanoverians on their left flank losing 12 per cent. The French publicly admitted a loss of 7,000 men, but the private letters of their commanders make the figure 10,000 or more. It seems certain, at any rate, that they had 153 officers killed and 224 wounded. They lost nearly all their baggage, 17 standards, and 43 guns.

Next day Prince Ferdinand expressed formally his thanks to the army, especially to the English infantry, who had sustained the heaviest losses, and to whom the chief honours were due, and also to the English artillery. He wrote to Macbean a special letter of acknowledgment. Indeed, the excellent handling of the British artillery on this occasion has always won the admiration of critics.

The Prince in his order of the day made a pointed allusion to Sackville's misconduct:—

His Serene Highness further orders it to be declared to Lieutenant-General the Marquess of Granby that he is persuaded that, if he had had the good fortune to have had him at the head of the Cavalry of the Right Wing, his presence would have greatly contributed to make the decision of the day more complete and more brilliant.

The compliment to Granby's eagerness to lead implied a compliment to the equal eagerness to be led on the

part of the Blues,* First and Third Dragoon Guards, Inniskillings, Scots Greys, and Tenth Dragoons.

Sackville rightly regarded this praise of Granby as a censure upon himself, and, when Ferdinand refused to withdraw it, asked to be recalled. The Prince also made a request to the same effect, and was much gratified at the appointment of Lord Granby† to the command of the British troops, Lieutenant-General Mostyn succeeding to the post of second in command.

Lord George Sackville was put under arrest on February 20th, 1760, for disobedience to orders, and was tried by a court-martial which sat from March 7th to April 5th.

The verdict was :—

That in the opinion of the Court, Lord George Sackville is guilty of having disobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick . . . and that he is hereby adjudged unfit to serve His Majesty in any Military capacity whatsoever.

By the King's special command the following rider was added :—

It is His Majesty's pleasure that the above sentence be given out in Public Orders, that Officers being convinced that neither high birth nor great employments can shelter offences of such a nature, and seeing that they are subject to censure much worse than death to a man who has any sense of honour, they may avoid the fatal consequences arising from disobedience of orders.

* In a private letter to Newcastle, dated August 29th, Granby writes :—"Your Grace will excuse me if I remind your Grace of my friend and Lieutenant-Colonel [Lieut.-Col. James Johnston, of the Blues]: it was unhappy for him that the Blues had not an opportunity of showing the pains he had for so many years been at in disciplining them was not thrown away. . . ."

† Lord Granby magnanimously tried to screen Lord George Sackville from blame. For this kindness the latter showed small gratitude. On Granby's death, ten years later, Sackville—now known as Lord George Germain—wrote to General Irwin :—"The death of Lord Granby will be of service to the Ministry in point of votes, but of greater service to the army. If real business is to be done, what good could have happened under such a director?" (October 23rd, 1770.)

Evidently the King deemed the case worthy of a sentence of death. The sentence was received and read at the head of each line of troops in Germany, drawn up under arms, with all the Generals present. The Duke of Newcastle wrote to Lord Granby :—

I send your Lordship in confidence, by the King's order, a copy of the very extraordinary sentence by the Court Martial; *so short of what we had a right to expect*, and, I may say, of the merits of the question. It is, however, a full condemnation of Lord George's behaviour, and a full justification of the King and Prince Ferdinand, and what they had done.

APPENDIX

A LETTER from Lord Barrington to Lord Granby has reference to the patronage of commissions in the Blues :—

Private.

Cavendish Square. 12 Jan. 1760.

MY DEAR LORD,

As I find I must not expect to see you so immediately as I hop'd, I will no longer delay writing to your Lordship, tho' I must acquaint you with a Circumstance which gives me pain. The King told Lord Ligonier that he had a Page, to whom He would give the Cornetcy in the Blues vacant by Cap^m. Lascelles promotion—My Lord reply'd (what was very true) that the Page desired an Ensigncy in the Foot Guards; but the King persisted, adding that there was no vacancy in the Guards, and that when there were Cornetcys in the Horse, they were the proper Provision for his Pages. This the King repeated to me the first time I attended him, and I have been oblig'd to obey. The Pages name is Bing, and I believe he is Brother to Lord Torrington—I am very sorry for this, both as the Reg^t. is under your Lordships Command, and as you had destin'd this vacancy for a Person whom I could not find among the Cornets of Blands, but whom I have since found to be John Dodds Son. I am the more concerned at the Disappointment on his Account; tho' our Friend John is at present unreasonably out of humor with me.

I still venture (at Gen^l. Napiers desire) to keep the Majority in the 12th Regiment open till you come here; but if you order me it shall be fill'd up as you formerly recommended, before your Arrival. I am with the warmest Wishes, and most Affectionate Respect

My dear Lord

Your Lordships

Most faithfull

Most Obed^t. Servant

BARRINGTON.

P.S.

I will use my utmost endeavour to save that Reg^t. from Pages for the future.

MARQUIS OF GRANBY.

CHAPTER XLVI

PRINCE FERDINAND was very much in King George's good graces, and his services at Minden received a handsome acknowledgment by the bestowal of the Garter and a gift of £20,000. The money was generously shared by the Prince with the officers and men of his army. The honour of the Garter was explained to him by Granby in August, 1759, but not conferred on him ceremonially till the following November. Lord Granby on November 6th was gazetted first, and Garter King of Arms second, plenipotentiary to perform the function in the Allies' camp at Kroffdorf, where a large and a small tent were set up in full view of the enemy's camp. The Prince, escorted by a numerous detachment of the Blues, and joined by a procession carrying the insignia of the Order, entered the smaller tent, where the investiture took place to the accompaniment of instrumental music. Short speeches by the first plenipotentiary and the new Knight were followed by the rolling of drums and a flourish of trumpets, after which Lord Granby entertained the Prince at dinner in the larger tent—a compliment reciprocated next day. The Blues were during the ceremony drawn up on either side of the hill before the tent—these being mounted, while others did duty on foot.

Prince Ferdinand well deserved the high distinction accorded him. The victory of Minden had enabled him to recover much lost ground. Minden itself surrendered; Contades was forced to evacuate Cassel,

which fell into Ferdinand's hands next day, August 25th. Contades had retreated to Marburg, and his successor in the command withdrew to Giessen. Ferdinand thereupon besieged and took Marburg, and on September 19th was at Kroffdorf, close to the French at Giessen. Münster was recaptured after a blockade, and at Fulda the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick defeated De Broglie, now in supreme command of the French. Giessen would probably have fallen to Ferdinand, but at this juncture Frederick of Prussia, now in dire straits from his defeat by the Russians in August, imperatively demanded reinforcements. When 12,000 men had been sent to Prussia, it was useless for Ferdinand to continue the campaign. In the January of 1760, when all went into winter quarters, each side was occupying almost the exact territory after the campaign as it had before it. But the prestige of the French had declined, and that of the successful commander-in-chief of the Allies was immensely enhanced.

Early in 1760 the British Government sent a reinforcement of 10,000 men to Germany, inclusive of the 2nd, 6th, and 7th Dragoon Guards, four regiments of dragoons, and six—ultimately eight—of foot.* They were shipped

* 1760, February 11th. Drafts of 8 men each for the Blues were drawn from three regiments of dragoons—Conway's, Cope's, and Ancram's—and ordered to be reduced before embarkation, to level them with the regiments in Germany. These regiments had also to furnish drafts for the King's Regiment of Dragoon Guards, the Third Dragoon Guards, and the Scots Greys (Royal North British); but the prestige of the Blues is illustrated by the fact that all sergeants were given the option of being drafted into the Blues. (*Secretary's Common Letter-Book.*)

1761, March 28th. Recruits and Remounts of Blues ordered to embark for Germany. Addressed to "the Officer Commanding the Recruits and Remount Horses for the Royal Horse Guards." (*Ibid.*)

At the opening of the campaign of 1760 Lord Granby writes home (April 25th) begging that two good aged horses upwards of 16 hands high should be sent out at once, "as he has scarcely a horse to get upon." (Belvoir Castle: Unpublished Papers.)

to the Weser, and joined Ferdinand in time for his exit from winter quarters in May. His army was in two divisions—that of Westphalia extending from Münster through Paderborn to the Weser; and that of Hesse from Marburg eastwards to the Werra. The latter, under Spörcke, was to watch the French army of the Lower Rhine. With Prince Ferdinand in Hesse was Lord Granby, at the head of the British contingent.*

The immediate seat of the military operations that were now imminent may be briefly described. The river Fulda, on which stands the town so named, flows due north to Cassel—a distance of over fifty miles as the crow flies; passing on its way Hersfeld, twenty miles down the stream. About eight miles before it reaches Cassel it receives as a tributary the Eder, whose general direction is from west to east, and on the left bank of which lies Fritzlar, distant fifteen miles by road south-west from Cassel. An extension of this road, still running to the south-west, leads to Kirchhain, thirty miles away. This town is situated on the Ohm, within the Rhine watershed, the river having here a north-westerly course. Less than ten miles above Kirchhain is Homberg, while about the same distance below it lies Marburg, between which place and Kirchhain the river makes a sharp turn to the south. One more river to be noted is the Schwalm, which flows from the south into the Eder a few miles before the latter joins the Fulda. On the Schwalm is Ziegenhain, twenty miles due west of Hersfeld on the Fulda.

The French armies, as in the previous year, were on the Lower Rhine and the Main respectively, the Comte de St. Germain commanding the one, and De Broglie the other. St. Germain, towards the end of June, crossed the Rhine at Düsseldorf and advanced to join his colleague

* Lord Granby's Standing Orders for 1760-I (Brit. Mus. Add. 28, 855) are well worth inspection.

—who was to come northward from Giessen—in operating against the Allies in Hesse.

At the end of May Ferdinand was at Fritzlar, with the Hereditary Prince on his left at Hersfeld, and Imhoff at Kirchhain. Fritzlar is the apex of a triangle, whose other angular points, Kirchhain and Hersfeld, are severally distant from it about twenty-five miles, and from each other about thirty-two miles. The approach of the enemy forced the Allies to concentrate. It brought Ferdinand down thirteen miles due southward to Ziegenhain, in order to join Imhoff at Homberg, while the Hereditary Prince was withdrawn from Hersfeld westwards. Ferdinand had specially selected Homberg as offering favourable ground for barring De Broglie's passage of the Ohm. But Imhoff, to Ferdinand's disgust, abandoned Homberg and fell back on Kirchhain, thus allowing the French to advance. This they were not slow to do, passing through Homberg and reaching Neustadt — midway between Kirchhain and Ziegenhain. From June 24th to July 8th neither side stirred, though the two were within a short distance of each other. At last De Broglie made a move, and marched twenty miles north-westward during the night to Frankenburg, intending to advance another twenty miles farther northward to Corbach, and there effect a junction with St. Germain, who was already on his way from the west.

De Broglie had given the Allies the slip, and Ferdinand tried in vain to catch him up. The Hereditary Prince was despatched in haste northwards to Sachsenhausen, five miles east of Corbach, to intercept De Broglie before he could join hands with St. Germain. But the junction between them was already effected when, on July 10th, the Hereditary Prince appeared on the scene. He at once attacked, but was repulsed with a loss of 500 men and 15 guns—7 of them British. The 5th, 24th, 50th, and 51st

regiments of British infantry, covering the retreat, were so nearly overpowered by numbers that only a splendid charge of a squadron each of the 1st and 3rd Dragoon Guards rescued them; the former going into the fight with 90 men and returning with only 24. The news of this reverse decided King George to send out one battalion of each regiment of the Foot Guards, which sailed at the end of July.

The French, taking full advantage of the way in which their foes exposed themselves to the risk of being beaten in detail, had succeeded in hurling the whole force of their two armies on a mere fraction of a single corps of the Allies. Two days later Von Spörcke arrived with the Army of Westphalia, and took up a position ten miles north of Sachsenhausen, at Volksmarsen, on a small river flowing northwards for more than six miles to Warburg to meet the Diemel.

While Spörcke guarded the Allied right, Ferdinand with the main army was at Sachsenhausen. Even now the whole Allied force numbered only 66,000, as against the French total of 130,000. De Broglie still aimed, as hitherto, at getting between Ferdinand and Westphalia; Ferdinand, to take the pressure off his right, determined to create a diversion on his left. Both combatants, when marching northwards, had left behind them some detached troops. A French force, under Glaubitz, who had six battalions and a regiment of cavalry, was at Marburg, and began to march on Ziegenhain, to threaten the Allies' rear. Ferdinand, on the other hand, had still six battalions at Fritzlar, and these, with some German horse and the Fifteenth Light Dragoons—a regiment newly raised by Eliott, who had only just brought it into the field—were sent south, under the Hereditary Prince, to check the new move of the French. At Emsdorf, halfway between Marburg and Ziegenhain, on July 16th, the Allies

defeated their enemy, whose left flank was turned by their unexpected advance through a forest. In this action the new British dragoon regiment, now the Fifteenth Hussars, gained unique distinction for itself by pursuing the enemy single-handed from point to point for twenty miles, until the whole remaining French force, to the number of 2,600, was captured. The prisoners taken by the Fifteenth numbered more than four times the total of their own strength. The Allied loss was 186, of which 125 belonged to the Fifteenth.

CHAPTER XLVII

A WEEK later De Broglie began operations on a grand scale. On his right he despatched a strong column to threaten Cassel. On the left St. Germain's successor, De Muy, was ordered to force Spörcke back from Volksmarsen. Before De Broglie himself Ferdinand was obliged to retire in a north-westerly direction from Sachsenhausen to Kalle, halfway between Warburg on the Diemel and Cassel on the Fulda. Having thus shifted his enemy back, De Broglie suddenly threw De Muy's corps of 20,000 men westwards across the Diemel, where it occupied a position on high ground to the north-west of Warburg. Ferdinand determined to sacrifice Cassel rather than permit himself to be severed from Westphalia. Then he decided on the bold stroke of attacking De Muy before De Broglie could arrive to help him.

On July 29th, 1760, first Spörcke, and then the Hereditary Prince with 14,000 men, crossed the Diemel, six miles below Warburg, at Liebenau. Ferdinand himself intended to join them next morning by a night march of fifteen miles from Kalle to Liebenau, the crossing-place.

De Muy's line, with the Diemel in its rear, rested on Warburg to the right, and on the village of Ochsendorf to the left, where also was a tower standing on a steep hill. Another village, Poppenheim, was on his left front.

After their arrival on July 30th, Spörcke and the Hereditary Prince occupied a four-mile line from Liebenau and the Diemel on the left to Corbeke on the right. Their distance from the French camp varied from six to nine

miles. They decided to advance from their right by the nine-mile route against De Muy's left.

Ferdinand's calculation of his own movements was cut too fine. Though the head of his column was well across the river by 6 a.m. on July 31st, this was a later hour than had been agreed upon, and his subordinate commanders felt obliged to start without him. They advanced in two columns—the right, or northern, arrived at Ochsendorf on its way towards the tower on the hill; the southern, or left, reached Poppenheim. At the head of the former were the Royal Dragoons leading the cavalry, while the British Grenadiers,* in two battalions, held a similar place of honour among the infantry. The left column was led by the 7th Dragoons, and included two regiments of Highlanders.

Aided by a thick fog, the advance of the Allies was unperceived by De Muy till midday, when the guns of the Allies at the two villages opened fire. The Grenadiers advancing, the infantry on the French left flank retired. But when the Grenadiers proceeded to threaten the hill in rear, a French battalion turned back to seize the summit. Then ten Grenadiers, under Colonel Beckwith, scaled the hill, and were joined by the Hereditary Prince with thirty others. The French on reaching the hill-top were met by a volley, and halted for a reinforcement. The brief delay gave time for a battalion of Grenadiers to arrive, when there ensued a skirmish with the French, who were two to one. The British were overmatched until the arrival of the other Grenadier battalion, which equalised the odds.

The French, however, began to fetch further reinforcements, till, after great exertions, a British battery was

* The grenadier companies of several regiments were formed into a battalion under Colonel Maxwell; a second was similarly formed. These "British Grenadiers" are not to be confused with the First Foot (Grenadier) Guards. *Vide* CHAPTER LXVII., p. 617.

dragged up the hill and did good work, while the Highlanders of the sister column drove back the French reinforcements. The Royals and the 7th Dragoons completed the discomfiture of the enemy.

Just when De Muy, by bringing up an overwhelming number of fresh troops against the exhausted battalions of the Allies, might have avenged this reverse, his front was suddenly threatened by a new and unlooked-for danger. The long distance to be traversed, and the marshy nature of the ground, had so hindered the efforts of Ferdinand's infantry to get up in time that, while still five miles distant from Warburg, he detached Granby with orders to push ahead with twenty-two squadrons of British cavalry and the three brigades of British artillery. Granby, burning to wipe out the memory of Minden, trotted forward for two hours at a pace at which, it is safe to say, no guns had ever before been known to travel.* Arrived in face of the enemy's position, Granby paused only to dispose his squadrons in two lines. In the first line were two brigades, one consisting of the First, Third, and Second Dragoon Guards, and another made up of the Blues and the Seventh and Sixth Dragoon Guards. In the rear line were brigaded the Scots Greys, the Tenth Dragoons (now Hussars), the Sixth (Inniskilling) Dragoons, and the Eleventh Dragoons (later Hussars). It will be seen that in the first line the Blues yielded their post on the right of the line to the First Dragoon Guards, an arrangement evidently adopted by Lord Granby to enable him, while riding at the head of his own regiment, to occupy a central

* Ferdinand, writing to the King from Warburg on August 1st says:—

“As the infantry could not march fast enough to charge at the same time, I ordered my lord Granby to advance with the cavalry of the right. The English artillery got up on a gallop and seconded the attack in a surprising manner.

“All the troops have done well, and particularly the English.”

position in front of the cavalry division which he was leading to the attack.

The British cavalry, which had been approaching the French horse—grouped on De Muy's right—at a sharp trot, now received successively the orders to gallop and charge. Granby,* at the head of the Blues, himself pierced the French lines three times. The enemy's cavalry recoiled, went about and fled, excepting three staunch squadrons, apparently made of the sternest stuff. As the first brigade of the British wheeled to the right to charge the flank and rear of the enemy's infantry, these three French squadrons which had stood their ground attacked the First Dragoon Guards in flank. This fierce and sudden onset threw the First into disorder, whereupon Granby, leaving the rest of the Blues to continue the pursuit, ordered a couple of their squadrons, under Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston,† to wheel round to the rescue of their comrades in the First Brigade. Johnston dashed down with his men, liberated the "K. D. G.'s," and rode through and over the three plucky squadrons.

This was decisive. With both flanks now driven in by the enemy's cavalry, the whole French army rushed to the river and crossed by the fords. The British artillery, coming up in fine style, added to their confusion; Lord Granby, with ten squadrons and twelve British battalions, crossed the stream and pursued them; and what remained of De Muy's force never stopped its flight till it reached Volksmarsen.

The French loss was variously estimated at between

* Granby had lost, or purposely discarded, his three-cornered hat, and in the bright sunshine his bald head was conspicuous among the helmets.

† Lieutenant-Colonel James Johnston of the Blues is not to be identified with Lieutenant-Colonel James Johnston of the First (Royal) Dragoons, whose regiment at this battle took prisoners an entire regiment of the enemy.

6,000 and 8,000 men, and twelve guns. The Allies' total was 1,200, the chief part of which was sustained by the Grenadiers. The Blues had several casualties:—Killed, 2 N.C.O.'s; wounded, Cornet Cheney and 6 N.C.O.'s; prisoners, 7 troopers; horses lost, 23.

The result of the battle was important, inasmuch as Ferdinand's communications with Westphalia were now free, and Hanover was no longer threatened; yet even these advantages were bought dearly at the cost of abandoning Cassel and leaving Hesse a prey to the enemy.

Ferdinand wrote to King George:—"My lord Granby a infiniment contribué avec la cavallerie anglaise au succès de cette action." He also publicly, on August 1st, thanked Lord Granby, "under whose orders all the British Cavalry performed prodigies of valour, which they could not fail of doing having his Lordship at their head." Mention is made in particular of Colonel Johnston—whichever of the two may have been intended. De Mauvillon, writing of Lord Granby at the head of the Blues, says that he "made it very evident that had he, instead of Sackville, led at Minden, there had been a different story to tell." And Newcastle, writing to Granby, relates that Faucitt had assured him that "the Blues behaved remarkably well."



*The Marquis of Granby,
Commanding the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards.
From a portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds at St James's Palace.
By gracious permission of His Majesty the King.*

CHAPTER XLVIII

THE King held a review on October 20th, 1760, attended by the Life Guards; on the 25th he died quite suddenly at Kensington. That there was a great deal in George the Second's public character to command respect and approval is a fact now disputed by no impartial student of his history. In particular, no soldier, and no one who is concerned for the credit of the Army, or who delights in its exploits and traditions, will fail to remember for good the plucky Prince, whose personal gallantry at Dettingen deeply impressed the popular imagination, and who inspired his army with loyal and sincere regard. Lord Granby—a man whose good opinion was worth having—declared that “no King ever lived more beloved, or died more sincerely regretted.”

The Life Guards and Horse Grenadier Guards went into mourning for their deceased Sovereign—their scarlet coats lapelled, turned up, and trimmed with black, and their hats, swords, and sashes decked with black crape.* They took their usual part in the proclamation of King George the Third's accession on October 26th, when the heralds' procession was led by Horse Grenadiers, with axes erect, accompanied by the French horns of the Troops. An excellent effect was produced in the country by the new Sovereign's declaration to Parliament that he gloried in being a Briton born and bred.

On the 31st was issued a royal regulation as to the

* Lord Granby ordered similar mourning for the troops under his command in Germany.

escorts which were to attend the royal family. The Princess Dowager of Wales was to be attended by the same number of guards as had formerly attended her husband, and as had also been assigned to the new King when heir-apparent—namely, one Subaltern, eight Life Guards, and two Grenadiers. For the Dukes of York and Cumberland, the Princess Augusta, the family of the Princess Dowager of Wales, and the Princess Amelia, there were to be seven Life Guards and two Grenadier Guards.*

The late King's obsequies were solemnised on November 9th and 11th. On the former day, as a sequel to the embalming process, the preliminary part of the interment took place privately in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. Two mourning coaches, preceded and followed by parties of Life Guards, contained the Lord Chamberlain and other peers. Next followed another mourning coach, drawn by six horses, on the front seat of which were two peers, and on the back seat a box covered with purple velvet and gold nails, to which were fixed four golden handles. The box was carried into the chapel by eight Yeomen of the Guard through a lane of Foot Guards, and deposited in the royal vault, to the sound of the trumpets.

The funeral proper, which took place two days later, was described by Walpole as "a noble sight." The Princes' Chamber at St. Stephen's was hung with purple and a quantity of silver lamps, the coffin lying under a canopy of purple velvet, amid six great chandeliers of silver placed on high stands. The procession to the Abbey moved through a line of Foot Guards, every seventh man bearing a torch; the Horse Guards lining the outer sides of the route; their officers, with drawn sabres and crape sashes, on horseback; the drums muffled, and bells tolling.

* In 1810 Queen Charlotte was so much upset by two Life Guards falling off, that she ordered the carriage not to be driven so fast in future!

Meanwhile the campaign of 1760, instead of terminating, as had been usual, in the autumn, on the armies' withdrawal into winter quarters, was extended well into the following year. The autumn and winter season of 1760-1 was a time of sore trouble for Granby's force in Germany. He had appealed, soon after Warburg, for the Guards and other reinforcements* to be sent. Ligonier candidly told him that the troops at home—of course, exclusive of the Household Cavalry—now consisted of two regiments of cavalry, made up of old men unfit for a campaign and boys "hardly able to manage their horses"; and of eight regiments of infantry, of which two-thirds were recruits. The Guards did at last arrive—a battalion from each of the three regiments—making long forced marches to reach Ferdinand's camp. But the loss of Cassel condemned the Allies to inaction in Hesse, and, in spite of Ferdinand's strong position at Warburg, the French held the greater part of Hesse, and were threatening Hanover. In September Ferdinand decided upon the bold stroke of creating a diversion by sending the Hereditary Prince with 10,000 men to seize Wesel, on the Lower Rhine. Amongst the troops despatched later to support the expedition were ten British battalions and three British regiments of cavalry, amongst whom the Blues were not included. The *ruse* was a failure. In the November and December of 1760 the opposed armies were still manœuvring for the

* This is a specimen of the answers Granby used to receive to his applications for reinforcements:—

" 1760, August 29th.

" Secretary at War to Lord Granby.

" I am to acquaint your Lordship that a sufficient number of horses would have been sent to replace those lost in the late action, if it was not imagined that you still had horses enough for your riders." (*Secretary's Common Letter-book.*)

At times the Minister grew oracular:—1761, March 25th. "A deserter is a very improper person to be made a non-commission officer." (*Ibid.*)

possession of Hesse, and both French and English were heartily sick of the war.

The Allies moved eastwards to the Weser, and the new year found Granby greatly grieving over the havoc made by sickness and death among the British troops. Their commander left nothing undone to alleviate their miseries, and his active sympathy, never wanting to each and all of his soldiers, won their keen and undying affection.

Ferdinand decided to make a supreme effort, in the depth of winter, to drive the enemy out of Hesse. Having formed a great magazine at Warburg, and received a Prussian reinforcement of 6,000 men, he issued his orders of battle on February 11th, 1761. He himself, commanding the centre of his army, occupied the Cassel district, Lord Granby being with him in command of his vanguard, the first column. The Hereditary Prince, on the right, was near Fritzlar, and Spörcke, in command of the left, in the neighbourhood of the Werra.

Granby's column included three battalions of the Foot Guards, one each of British Grenadiers and the Fifth Foot, and seven Hanoverian battalions. Of cavalry he had three squadrons of Blues, the Fifteenth, and two squadrons of Hanoverians; and the whole of the British artillery.

The net result of the involved and fruitless movements of this campaign, which opened with successes for the Allies and closed with successes for the French, was that the Allied army ended on March 31st where it began—at Warburg, with the French in possession of all Hesse. When it is borne in mind that the French army always outnumbered that of the Allies by two to one—until towards the end of the campaign, when the ratio was four to one—it was to Ferdinand's credit that he at least secured Westphalia.

The 1761 campaign was resumed, after a two months' interval, in May, and lasted till mid-October. There is apparently no specific record of the Blues' participation in it. The list of regiments serving under Harvey, commanding the cavalry brigade in Granby's corps, does not include Granby's own regiment; nor were they among the British cavalry allotted to either Anhalt or Conway. The campaign was memorable for the consummate skill with which Ferdinand "kept two armies, jointly of double his strength, continually in motion for six months, without permitting them to reap the slightest advantage from their operations." (*Fortescue.*)

The Blues went into winter quarters with the rest of the army. In the following year they were once more to distinguish themselves.

Meanwhile, at home, King George the Third was, on September 8th, 1761, married to Princess Maria Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, who had been escorted to London from Romford earlier in the day by the Life Guards, one hundred of whom, on foot, were on duty within the royal palace during the wedding ceremony. At their Majesties' Coronation, on the 22nd of the same month, the Life Guards discharged their customary ceremonial functions, although their particular manner of doing so seems to have provoked some resentment on the part of the Man in the Street:—

On the outside were stationed, at proper distances, several parties of Horse Guards, whose horses somewhat incommoded the people that pressed incessantly upon them, though I did not hear of any great mischief being done. I must Confess it gave me pain to see the soldiers, horse and foot, obliged unmercifully to belabour the head's of the mob with their broad swords and muskets; but it was not unpleasant to observe several tipping the horse soldiers sily from time to time (some with half pence, and some with silver, as they could muster up the cash) to let them pass between the horses to get near the platform; after which these unconscionable gentry drove them back again. (*Annual Register*, 1761, p. 230.)

The ensuing November was marked by a royal visit to the City :—

1761, November 9th. The King and Queen viewed the Lord Mayor's procession from the house of a well-known Quaker, Mr. Barclay, who lived just opposite Bow Church. The escort of Life Guards was posted in Bow Church yard, and, on the King's departure, a party of them was detached to guard the house and prevent any damage being done by the mob to the decorations.

There were times when the Life Guards were charged with escort duties of a more grim kind :—

1757, December 28th. Admiral Byng was tried before a Court Martial at Portsmouth, when he was conveyed from Greenwich by a party of Horse Guards, and insulted by the populace in every town thro' w^h he passed. (Smollett, *H. E.*, p. 635.)

On May 5th, 1760, occurred the execution of Lord Ferrers, the last peer of the realm to suffer the supreme penalty for felony. He went from the Tower to Tyburn in his own landau with six horses, with a mourning coach and a hearse following and under a strong escort of Life Guards. One of the escort got a bad fall through his horse's leg getting entangled in the hind wheel of the carriage. Lord Ferrers expressed much concern, and said, "I hope there will be no death to-day but mine."

CHAPTER XLIX

THE campaign of 1762 began in May. Broglie had been superseded by Soubise and Marshal d'Estrées, whose army of the Main was 80,000 strong; Condé having 30,000 men on the Rhine.

The strength of the Allies was not so disproportionate as in former years, Ferdinand having 95,000 men at his disposal. The Hereditary Prince in mid-June was set to watch Condé, and Ferdinand advanced south-easterly from the neighbourhood of Paderborn to the line of the Diemel, with Granby on his extreme right at Warburg. The field of action during the next few days was the district north of Cassel, and lying between the Diemel on the north-west and the Weser on the east. Ferdinand, with his usual promptitude, sent a force across the Diemel eastwards to seize Zappaburg, which commands several roads to the south and south-west.

On June 22nd the French generals made a twelve miles' advance northwards from Cassel to Gröbenstein, with Wilhelmstahl castle in their rear. To their right was a forest, and half-way towards Zappaburg they placed Castries at Carlsdorff, about four miles in advance of their own right.

Ferdinand at once took measures which—if only his plans had “come off” without a hitch—might have destroyed the whole French army. He arranged that his forces, in five different corps, coming from as many different directions, should close in on the unsuspecting enemy. First Lückner, with horse and foot, was to march down

south and west from Zappaburg through the forest and threaten Castries' rear from the right. Secondly, Spörcke, after crossing the Diemel and moving eastwards across Castries' front, was to act against his right flank. Thirdly, Riedesel, also with Zappaburg as his starting-point, was to advance due south through the length of the forest, and ultimately face the right flank of the main French army. In the fourth place, Ferdinand himself proposed to cross the Diemel and march straight southwards to attack the main army; while, lastly, Granby, crossing the river at Warburg was to make a *détour* south and east, so as to menace the left flank and rear of the Gröbenstein-Wilhelmstahl position.

On the morning of June 24th Lückner and Riedesel duly executed their part of the programme. Spörcke unluckily, as he came out of the forest, stumbled on Castries, who at once took the alarm and began to retreat southwards. Spörcke, following him up, came upon Lückner from an unexpected direction, and by mistake the former fired on the latter. Castries meanwhile got away towards the main French army, though not without a blow, in passing, from Riedesel. The larger French force now also took alarm and began to withdraw towards Cassel. Ferdinand advanced too slowly to take any effective part in the battle, and the French would have made good their retreat if Granby had not suddenly appeared on their left rear. To enable their main body to continue falling back without being caught up by Ferdinand, it was necessary to throw out a strong force to engage Granby. This task was entrusted to Stainville, who began the attack on Granby's advanced battalions, which, however, soon received the support of the rest of his column. Stainville, who had under his orders some splendid infantry, occupied a strong position in a wood. Granby's force was not of less choice quality—including

as it did the three battalions of Guards, the British Grenadiers, and the Fifth (now the Northumberland Fusiliers) and Eighth Foot (now the Liverpool Regiment); the only British Cavalry present being three squadrons of the Fifteenth and two squadrons of the Blues, under Colonel Harvey. Granby, after a stubborn struggle, seemed to be succeeding, when Ferdinand appeared and finished the fight. Of the French, 1,500 were killed or wounded, while the Fifth took 3,000 prisoners. Thus, notwithstanding the miscarriage of Ferdinand's plans, his 50,000 men had driven back 70,000. In the recorded opinion of Frederick the Great it was Granby's fight which decided the day.

The losses of the Blues at Wilhelmstahl were:—Killed, one trooper, three horses; wounded, five troopers, two horses.

Lord Ligonier was delighted with the result of Wilhelmstahl:—"Granby," he declared to Newcastle, "did the whole business, than whom no man had ever acted with more courage, or more like a Commanding Officer, than in cutting off De Stainville's Corps from the French Army." As to a slight check, which was caused by Ligonier's own regiment, the First Foot Guards, he added that "Granby soon recovered it, and his Blues did almost beyond what was ever done by a Regiment of Cavalry."

Granby wrote to the Commander-in-Chief in praise of his old regiment:—

Camp at Niedenstein, July 6th, 1762.

I have not until now been able to wish you joy of the very great credit your old friends the Blues acquired on the 1st of July. I marched on the 30th [June] at night from Dürrenburg to Fritzlar with the Blues, Elliot's, Sprengel's, and Weltheim's. There I found the two Battalions of Grenadiers and the two Battalions of Highlanders. To dislodge Rochambeau from Homberg Granby was to attack his left, and Lord F. Cavendish, with chasseurs and German hussars, on his right. The enemy began his retreat. Our Cavalry pressed to engage him; Elliot's led (leaving the village of Kattsdorff on the

right) through the enclosures and charged most gallantly, but Col. Harvey seeing the Enemy prepared for them and that unless the Regiment was instantly sustained it was undone, followed with rapidity through the village with the Blues past a rivulet that, with the narrowness of the streets and the closeness of the Enemy, impeded their forming ; but, as no time was to be lost, charged with them with only 6 or 8 men in front.* This had the best effect. . . . Thus they continued a very long time, charging and manœuvring with such a continuance as did them an honour never to be forgot, and during this time Elliot's were extremely useful to the Blues, though their ammunition was entirely expended. Our Infantry by this time got forward and, sustained by the Cavalry, followed the Enemy at least a league and a half. . . .

I can never sufficiently commend the gallantry and good conduct of the Blues and Elliott's, nor enough express the obligations I have to Colonel Harvey, Colonel Erskine, Major Forbes, and Major Ainslie as well as the rest of the officers. Neither would I be thought to omit the Infantry, who showed the same readiness they have ever done.

(*Hist. MSS., Duke of Rutland.*)

The *London Gazette* says of this engagement :—

The situation of the two regiments [the Blues and Elliot's] was at this time very critical ; but the mutual support which they gave each other—Elliot's Dragoons [the Fifteenth] by their continual skirmishing with the enemy ; and the Blues by their manœuvres in squadrons, and by their steady countenance, kept the enemy at bay till the infantry could come up.

By the end of August the French were expelled from Hesse. Passing by, as irrelevant to our immediate aim, the details of the campaign during the two months and a half immediately following the *coup* at Wilhelmstahl, we proceed at once to describe the military situation in mid-September, 1762. The French had been marching from Giessen, thirty-five miles due north of Frankfurt, arriving at the Ohm, where their left rested on Marburg and their right opposite Homberg. Ferdinand was encamped on the right bank of the Ohm, his left being at Homberg and his right on Kirchhain. Both armies had Cassel—between thirty and forty miles to the north-east—as their

* *I. e.* abreast.

objective, Ferdinand hoping to reduce that city and the enemy striving to cut him off from it. Lord Granby, who commanded on the Allied left, had under his orders a strong division consisting largely of German infantry and cavalry. The British part of his force was made up of three Battalions of Foot Guards, three of Grenadiers, and two of Highlanders, with three squadrons of the First Dragoon Guards, and three of the Blues. On September 21st there was a severe fight for the stone mill-bridge of Brückemühle, the French early in the morning opening fire on the redoubt constructed by the Allies to defend their end of the bridge. Zastrow was in command of the Allies at this point, with Wangenheim's corps on his left, and Granby's at Kirchhain on his right. The French continued to bring up guns for the cannonade of the redoubt—there were thirty in all—and the infantry tried to take the bridge. At ten o'clock Granby was ordered up to support the centre. The French artillery had sensibly the better of the duel. Late in the afternoon Granby's British infantry had reinforced Zastrow, the French also being strengthened by fresh battalions. The redoubt, which held only a few men at a time, was filled in turn by relays of Germans and British. At last, in the evening, the French made a desperate effort to rush the bridge, but were finally repulsed from the redoubt, and thus their attempt to cross the Ohm had failed. The Allies lost between 700 and 800 men, over a third being British. The French loss reached 1,200. In the sequel Ferdinand within a few weeks besieged Cassel, and on November 1st it fell.

So ended the campaign, and with it the war.

The paper strength of the Blues at the end of the war was 518. They returned to England in the spring of 1763, but not before the Regiment had been subjected to a drastic process of reduction from fifty-two to twenty-nine men

per troop.* The discharged troopers received allowances on a scale none too generous. Every man who could show a twelvemonth's service was permitted, before his embarkation, to sell his horse and take the proceeds, while on arrival in England he was allowed nine days' pay. Those who had served for a less period received, as their sole money allowance, eighteen days' pay. All alike were presented with their clothes and cloaks. With rare exceptions, it was forty years before the Blues were accorded any employment about the Court, the Regiment being almost constantly absent from London.

* The warrant, dated December 24th, 1762, was carried out in February, 1763.

CHAPTER L

ON Lord Granby's return home in February, 1763, he was warmly welcomed by his Sovereign, who further favoured the distinguished soldier, at the great Hyde Park review held on June 4th, by according him the post of honour. On this occasion the Fifteenth took the King's duty—a compliment well earned by their brilliant achievements during the war.

On the other hand, the Blues were denied any share in the public welcome given to their Commander. For five tedious years they had been undergoing the hardships of a succession of prolonged and arduous campaigns—reaping renown for themselves whenever they were given the chance, but doing their duty none the less sturdily and honourably on the many occasions when there was little or no likelihood of winning applause. We meet with no record of the slightest public acknowledgment of their services, whose sole reward was that, of the whole number of these war-worn veterans, nearly one-half were turned adrift with a “gratuity” obtained by the forced sale of a used-up war-horse, *plus* a few days' pay and the gift of some old clothes; while the remainder, on their return home, were relegated to the obscurity of the provinces.

The plea that it was thought only just that a corps which had been harassed by years of active service should “have time to recruit,” lacks even superficial plausibility. The true explanation—which is also a warning—is that the England of that day, like the England of periods less remote, was cursed with politicians whose regard for the

national safety—visibly embodied in the efficiency of the Army and the Navy—was infinitely less than their zeal to win those smaller ends for which such men live. The banishment of the Blues was due, no doubt, either to political intrigues or to popular apathy.

So the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards repaired to the Midlands. As has been already stated, during the next forty years they were hardly ever called upon to discharge the special functions to which they had for a century been accustomed. In point of fact, the Blues performed the King's duty at a review held on June 26th, 1765, and were themselves reviewed on various occasions at Blackheath; while during the whole period from May 25th, 1788, to June 4th, 1789, in which the Life Guards were being re-organised, their duty was taken over by the Royal Regiment.* Except, however, for fitful appearances in London on special occasions, the Blues remained in their quarters at Northampton, Hertford, Stamford, Derby, Leicester, Nottingham, and other towns† in that part of the country, where their presence was greatly appreciated.

The courtesy of the Town Clerk of Nottingham, Samuel Johnson, Esq., has rendered accessible for the purposes of the present work several interesting excerpts from a municipal record entitled "The Nottingham Date-Book," which illustrate some prominent incidents in the usually uneventful history of the Regiment during the last four decades of the eighteenth century; together with a single extract from "The Council Minute-Book" of the Corporation of Nottingham.

* 1776, May 25th. Gen. Conway is asked by the Commr.-in-Chief if the Blues would like to take temporary duty at the Whitehall. (*Commr.-in-Chief's Letter-Book.*)

† On September 16th, 1788, a troop of the Blues was ordered to Ware to protect the excise officers.

November 4, 1763. The Royal Regiment of Horse Guards (Blue) were reviewed in Sneinton Meadow (then uninclosed), by General Elliott, the gallant defender of Gibraltar, in the presence of the Duke of Rutland, the Marquis of Granby, and a prodigious concourse of people.

October 25, 1783. The Royal Regiment of Horse Guards (Blue) was reviewed in Sneinton Meadows by the Right Hon. Lord Geo. Henry Lennox, brother of the Duke of Richmond. The Duke and Duchess of Rutland, the principal nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood, and an incredible number of spectators were present.

October 25, 1790. Two troops of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards (Blue) arrived in Nottingham, having been sent for from Peterborough, in anticipation of a framework-knitters' riot, the hosiers having reduced their wages. In the evening, many of the workmen assembled in the Market-place, and after huzzaing, went in a body to several parts of the town, breaking windows, dismantling frames, and compelling others to quit their work. The military were called out, and patrolled the streets to a late hour.

The next day (Tuesday) several hundred of the hands from the adjacent villages poured into the town to reinforce their brethren in tribulation, but found the authorities fully prepared for them.

The trumpets sounded to arms, and in a few seconds the soldiers were drawn up in the Market-place. The Mayor then came up, and the military, by word of command, encircled him. His Worship read the Riot Act, and coming out of the circle ordered the people to disperse. They very reluctantly obeyed. Proclamations, signed by the Mayor, were then circulated from door to door, in which all house-keepers were strictly charged to keep in their servants and apprentices after six in the evening, and every precautionary measure adopted. The discontented, however, reassembled in great numbers, and pursued their favourite pastime of breaking windows. In clearing the streets of them the military apprehended thirty-seven and lodged them in prison. Several more were apprehended on Wednesday, and Captain Jefferson received a wound on the back of his head by a glass bottle being thrown at him. Beyond this and the breaking of a few windows nothing arose to disturb the public tranquility.

October, 1801. The Royal Regiment of Horse Guards was succeeded at the Barracks by the King's Regiment of Dragoon Guards.

The following is an extract from the Council Minute-Book of the Corporation of Nottingham, July 2nd, 1779 :—

ORDERED and Agreed that the Chamberlains pay the sum of Twenty Guineas to the Regiment of Blues for their services assisting in

the Civil Majistrates in keeping the Peace of this Town and Quelling the late Riots.

The stay of the Regiment at Nottingham is memorable on another account. To the Blues belongs the credit of being the first regiment to recognise the necessity of definite instruction in riding. They were the first to build themselves a riding-school, which they did at Nottingham at a cost of £400. The structure was officially reported to be fully sufficient for all necessary work, and when inquiry was made (January 26th, 1773) by the Commander-in-Chief for information as to the expense of building riding-houses, the Nottingham school was referred to (February 24th) as a model.*

The Blues' sojourn at Leicester was on one occasion marked by a royal visit. In 1768 the King of Denmark, husband of an English Princess, travelling from York to London, paid what was intended to be a surprise visit to Leicester, where he arrived at the "Cranes" Inn about eight o'clock on a Sunday morning, September 4th. News of his arrival had, however, leaked out, and part of the Regiment of Blues was drawn up to receive His Majesty, who—according to the *Leicester Journal*—"got out of his carriage, went into one of the parlours, threw up the sash, showed himself, and bowed to the people, and behaved with great affability and condescension." He also sent for the officer in command of the hastily improvised guard of honour, and conversed with him for some time, making many inquiries about the Regiment. He also told him that three days previously, while travelling at high speed on a bad road, his carriage had broken down, and he had been obliged to climb out through the window.

There is a record that on July 15th, 1801, when two of

* C.-in-C. *Letter-Book* for these dates.

its troops were quartered at Leicester, six officers were initiated into the mysteries of Freemasonry at the St. John Lodge. Amongst them was Cornet (afterwards the "gallant Major") Packe, who fell at Waterloo, and whose son, Captain Edmund Packe, was the author of the well-known *Historical Record of the Royal Horse Guards (Blue)*, published in 1834.

Amongst long-standing abuses in the Army was the system of "False Musters," which continued in full working order as late as 1763. In that year the resolution was at last taken for its total abolition. A Royal Order of December 30th, 1763, signed, "North, John Tumer, Tho. Orby Hunter," and addressed to Lord Holland as Paymaster-General of the Forces, recites the long-established custom of allowing a number of fictitious names upon the Muster Rolls of the Life Guards and Horse Grenadier Guards, in order to increase the Pay of the Officers; also of allowing one fictitious name per Company upon the Muster Rolls of the several Regiments for the service of the Agent and Solicitor. It is then ordered that the practice of employing fictitious names shall be no longer allowed upon the Muster Rolls as formerly, but that, instead thereof, in the Debentures to be made out for the pay of the troops, the full pay of six private gentlemen of each Troop of the Life Guards, and of twenty-nine private Men of each Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards, and also the full pay of one Man for each Company of the several Regiments, over and above the usual allowance to the Agent and Solicitor, is to be computed and included.

On February 11th, 1767, was issued a warrant for regulating the attendance of Officers belonging to the several regiments of cavalry, namely, the Blues, Dragoon Guards, and Dragoons, by which it is ordered, "For the more effectual maintenance of good order and discipline

in our Royal Regiment of Horse Guards and in our Regiments of Dragoon Guards and Dragoons," that one Field Officer be always present with the Regiment, one Captain with each Squadron, and one Subaltern with each Troop, and that a monthly return of their attendance be made to the Secretary at War and to the Adjutant-General.* Every Officer on appointment is to join his Regiment within four months, and every officer who has not served in any other Cavalry regiment is to remain in Quarters till he shall be perfected in Riding and all regimental duty. Moreover, "all officers, while present with their Corps, are constantly to wear uniform."

The laxity of the rule allowing an officer four months in which to join his regiment contrasts curiously with the strictness of some other regulations.

An Order dated February 25th, 1784, dealing with allowances for postage, stationery, guard-rooms, etc., specifically excepts the Regiments of Horse and Foot Guards, as does an Order of December 22nd, 1784, respecting the discharging of soldiers, and the casting of regimental horses.

* James II. framed some similar regulations in 1686. *Vide* CHAPTER XXII., p. 212

CHAPTER LI

IT was still as ever no insignificant part of the duties assigned to both Life Guards and Blues to aid in the preservation of public order. In 1765 the Spitalfields weavers * began rioting in London. Walpole writes to the Earl of Hertford, May 20th, 1765 :—

I mentioned the mob of Weavers. On Friday a well-disciplined mob repaired to Westminster, with red and black flags. The same evening they assaulted Bedford House, and began to pull down the walls, and tried to force their way into the garden. After reading the proclamation, the gates of the court were thrown open, and sixty soldiers marched out. The mob fled, but were met by some Horse Guards and much trampled and cut about, but no lives lost.

On Sunday I found so large a throng that I could scarcely get through, though in my chariot. The glass of Lord Grosvenor's Coach was broken, and Lady Cork's chair was demolished. I found Bedford House a perfect Garrison, sustaining a siege—the court full of Horse Guards, Constables, and Gentlemen. The mob grew so riotous that both Horse and Foot Guards had to parade the Square before the tumult was dispersed.

In the following letter Lord Barrington, as Secretary at War, formally authorises the troops to aid the Civil power :—

War Office, 24th September, 1766.

SIR,

the present riotous assemblings on account of the high prices of corn and provisions in many parts of the kingdom having made it necessary for the Magistrates to call in a Military Force to their assistance, and there being reason to apprehend that the same disorder may continue and spread farther, I think it proper to send you enclosed an order for aiding and assisting the Civil Magistrates in the neighbourhood of your Quarters, in case they should have occasion, upon any riots or disturbances, to apply to you ; and upon receipt of this, you will be pleased to wait on the Magistrates of the neighbourhood, and give them information of the directions you have received for the more early prevention of these disturbances.

* There had been weavers' riots in 1719 : *vide* p. 348.

I am persuaded there is no occasion for me to caution you to take great care that the troops under your command do not at all interfere in any of these things but at such times as they shall be required by the Civil Magistrates, who best will judge when they stand in need of Military assistance.

The above letter was addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Kellet, or the Officer commanding the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards at York, and similar letters were sent to nineteen other Commanding Officers.

Accordingly, when the Wilkes riots occurred in London during the years 1768 and 1769, the Life Guards were "brought out ostentatiously each day till the 10th of May, when the new Parliament met" *—a proceeding which effectually overawed the rioters, although it is said to have "irritated the populace." For several successive years popular disturbances were suppressed by detachments of Life Guards. During a particularly disorderly period, in 1776, Dr. Johnson said, "The character of our own Government at present is imbecility. The magistrates dare not call the Guards, for fear of being hanged. The Guards will not come, for fear of being given up to the blind rage of popular juries."† In 1780 occurred the fanatical riots connected with the name of Lord George Gordon, the suppression of which needed the efforts, not merely of the Guards, but of twenty other regiments besides. The painful task of describing them has been effectually performed for all time in the picturesque pages of *Barnaby Rudge*.

On June 6th, 1780, "Lord Sandwich was the victim of a gross outrage, being torn out of his carriage, which was broken to pieces. He was badly hurt and was rescued with difficulty by the Life Guards.

Although in 1765 Lord Rockingham's Ministry had

* Wright, *England under the House of Hanover*, i. 438.

† Boswell, ed. Croker, p. 509.

abolished the dangerous and unconstitutional practice of removing military officers on account of their votes in Parliament, soldiers who had votes were still expected to poll in favour of the Ministerial candidates. The direct intervention of the Crown at parliamentary elections, by means of political pressure brought to bear on private soldiers as voters, is exemplified by a letter written by George the Third to Lord North, on October, 10th 1774.* “I have apprised Lord Delawarr† to have the Horse & Grenadier Guards privately spoke to for their votes; they have a large number of votes”; and two days later His Majesty writes, “I can scarce credit the report of Lord Harrington‡ having solicited his Troop in favour of Lord Mahon.”

A caricature by Gillray, published in 1784, relates to the pressure—including strong Court influence—under which soldier-voters were induced to support Admiral Hood and Sir Cecil Wray against Fox, as parliamentary candidates for Westminster. Fox’s placards made a great point of Wray’s scheme for saving money by the abolition of Chelsea Hospital and the taxation of maidservants. Gillray’s scurrility thus finds vent:—

All Horse Guards, Grenadier Guards, Foot Guards, and Blackguards, that have not polled for the destruction of Chelsea Hospital and the tax on Maidservants, are desired to meet at the Gutter Hole opposite the Horse Guards, where they will have a full bumper of knock-me-down and plenty of soapsuds before they go to poll for Sir C. Wray, or eat.

N.B. Those that have no shoes or stockings may come without, there being a quantity of wooden shoes provided for them.§

The King worked desperately against Fox, and received daily and hourly intelligence of the state of the poll, which

* Clode.

† Lord Delawarr commanded the First Troop of Life Guards.

‡ Lord Harrington commanded the Second Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards.

§ Wright, *England under the House of Hanover*, ii. 106.

lasted from April 1st till May 17th. Two hundred and eighty Guards were sent to vote as householders, which Walpole said was legal, but was what his father, Sir Robert, "would never have dared to do." Fox eventually came in by a majority of 236 over his former follower, Wray. Lord Hood brought up a lot of sailors (or ruffians dressed in sailors' clothes) who prevented Fox's men from polling. The sailors had a desperate row with the chairmen, which was eventually checked by the Guards.

Lord Granby was unfortunately drawn into the vortex of politics. In the position of Commander-in-Chief, to which he succeeded in 1766, he had been assailed by "Junius," who said that he had degraded his high office to that of "a broker in commissions." The accusation was subsequently entirely retracted by the literary assassin, who frankly averred that his only wish was to damage the Grafton ministry. But Granby—like other great soldiers before and after him—was neither so steady nor so successful in politics as in arms. Early in 1770 he made a public recantation of the views he had previously expressed at the Middlesex election; and on January 17th, 1770, he was received in audience by the King, when, actuated by honourable scruples, he resigned into His Majesty's hands the offices of Commander-in-Chief and the Mastership of the Ordnance, retaining only the colonelcy of the Blues, which he did not deem a political post.* The King appealed earnestly to Granby's attachment and loyalty, and Granby himself was overcome with emotion in relinquishing his great appointments in the Army; but he felt bound in duty to follow Lord Chatham. On October 18th, in the same year, Granby, worn out by public disappointment and worried by private embarrassments, died with almost tragic suddenness at Scarborough at the age of

* Wellington, half a century later, pertinaciously maintained that it was.

forty-nine.* The King, who had for some time determined on his successor in the colonelcy of the Blues, instantly wrote to Lord North :—

October 21, 1770.

As I doubt not you will hear of applications for the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards on the death of the Marquis of Granby, I think it right to acquaint you that Lieut.-General Conway, whilst Secretary of State, and again on resigning that office, had the promise that he should succeed to that corps.

I shall therefore immediately send to Lord Barrington to make out the notification.

GEORGE R.

His Majesty wrote also to Conway direct :—

L^T. GEN^L. CONWAY,

I choose to acquaint you that I have directed Lord Barrington to notify you as Colonel of the Royal Reg^t of Horse Guards. I shall therefore expect to receive you in that capacity on Wednesday.

GEORGE R.

The King's action in the matter very nearly gave rise to a grave difficulty, for Henry Fox as responsible minister in the House of Commons had officially promised the reversion of the Regiment to the Duke of Richmond. The King perhaps considered that the promise made to the Duke when he was a youthful courtier was cancelled now that—seven years later—he had become an active politician on the Opposition side. The Duke, making a virtue of necessity, wrote to the King :—

Goodwood, October 21st, 1770.

SIR,

It is with the most profound respect that I beg leave to address your Majesty.

* Granby's great popularity with the Army was the reason why so many taverns came to be named "The Marquess of Granby." The first sign of the kind appeared over an inn at Hounslow kept by an ex-trooper of the Blues.

1773, July 13th. Gen. Harvey, writing to the officers of the Blues, thanks them for sending him a medal in remembrance of the Marquess of Granby. He is "happy to find that a corps which will ever do honour to the officers it may serve under pays a grateful tribute to a character of such worth."

Lord Holland having informed me in the year 1763 of your Majesty's gracious promise, of honouring me with the command of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards Blue, upon the death of Marshal Ligonier, when your Majesty intended to give the First Regiment of Foot Guards to Lord Granby, I should have thought it my duty to have applied to your Majesty on that event, had I not learned at the same time of another disposition having taken place, whereby the Blues did not then become vacant.

But as I have heard this morning that Lord Granby is deceased, I hope your Majesty will excuse my taking the liberty humbly to renew to your Majesty the deep sense I feel of your Majesty's goodness, and to express the ambition I shall have upon all occasions of serving your Majesty in any capacity I may be thought equal to; but as many circumstances have happened since the time of your Majesty's gracious message to me by Lord Holland, and as possibly it might be more convenient for your Majesty's present arrangements, if this engagement did not subsist, I most humbly presume to beg of your Majesty, if this should be the case, to permit me to relinquish this claim to the Blues, which your Majesty has formerly given me with so much goodness, and to assure your Majesty that no situation, however desirable, can equal the satisfaction I shall have in proving the attachment, respect, and duty with which I most humbly entreat your Majesty's permission to subscribe myself,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most loyal and obedient subject
and servant,

RICHMOND.

To this outwardly deferential but inwardly ironical letter no answer was returned. Walpole says that the incident caused a great coolness between the disappointed and the successful candidates for the colonelcy, and that he himself was afterwards the means of reconciling them. The Duke, however, in spite of his letter to the King, resented for many years what he considered a breach of faith, and when paying his duty to the Queen was in the habit of withdrawing without approaching His Majesty.

The new Colonel of the Blues provoked the royal disfavour two years later by his remarks on the Royal Marriage Act when in Committee, and the King was only pacified by Conway's promise not to pay his respects to the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester. He again irritated

his Sovereign in 1776 by voting against the Address on the ground that it approved of the American War. In May of that year, on the occasion of an inspection of the Blues, the King in order to annoy Conway found much fault with the officers and said most unjustly, "I wish I could see the Blues behave as well as they used to do." * Conway simply replied that he regretted His Majesty should lay blame on the officers merely to mortify the Colonel.

The heartburnings which attached to the succession to the Colonelcy of the Blues testify perhaps to the accuracy of Walpole's remark, that it was "the most agreeable post in the Army." †

* Walpole, *Reign of George the Third*.

† Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, November 12th, 1770.

CHAPTER LII

IN the last quarter of the eighteenth century it had become evident that the Life Guards were in need of thorough reorganisation on a fresh basis. The corps had long ceased to be composed of noblemen and gentlemen. High birth had been superseded by hard cash as a key for entrance into the Troops of Life Guards. The change was not for the better, and it was felt that the time had come for doing away with the pretence to enforce a principle of selection long obsolete. The Private Gentlemen of His Majesty's Life Guards were still, however, to be men of unblemished character and belonging to families of the highest respectability—a regulation in force to this day and unique in the Army. The Life Guards were to retain their privileges, inclusive of their right of precedence over all other troops, but their organisation was to be assimilated more nearly to that of the rest of the Army by the absorption of the Horse Grenadiers* and the formation of the whole corps into two Regiments of Life Guards.

The Duke of York,† writing from London on July 26th, 1788, to Earl Cornwallis, says :—

. . . I have no doubt that Your Lordship will not regret the reduction of the four Troops of Horse Guards and Horse Grenadiers as they were the most useless & the most unmilitary Troops that ever were seen. I confess that I was a little sorry for the Horse Grenadiers because they were to a degree Soldiers, but the Horse Guards were nothing but a collection of London Tradespeople.

* It is curious to note an announcement in the *Times* of April 5th, 1860 :—"On March 28th, at Abbots, near Honiton, aged 84, Sophia, relict of the late R. Weeks, Esq., formerly Captain of the Horse Grenadier Guards."

† The Duke had been col. of the 2nd tp. of H. Gren. Gds, 1782-4.

If the two new Regiments keep exactly to the standard they have settled they will be the finest bodies of men that ever were seen, the tallest not to exceed six foot one, the shortest five foot eleven. . .
(*Cornwallis Papers.*)

The standard — physical and moral — of the two Regiments has more than fulfilled the Duke of York's anticipations.

The change was effected by Royal Proclamation :—

GEORGE, R.

WHEREAS we have thought fit to order our First Troop of Horse Guards, commanded by our right trusty and entirely beloved cousin, Lieut. - General William Marquis of Lothian, and our Second Troop of Horse Guards, commanded by our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor General Jeffery Lord Amherst, to be completely formed into Regiments of Life Guards, and their Establishments and Pay as such to commence the 25th June, 1788; and whereas it is become necessary, by the said Troops being formed into Regiments of Life Guards, that their former titles as Troops of Horse Guards should be altered and their future rank ascertained,

OUR ROYAL WILL AND PLEASURE IS that our First Troop of Horse Guards now under the command of Lieut.-General the Marquis of Lothian, shall bear the title of our First Regiment of Life Guards, and our Second Troop of Horse Guards now under the command of General Lord Amherst, the title of our Second Regiment of Life Guards, and shall have the same precedence respectively in our service which they now hold as Troops of Horse Guards. Whereof the Colonels for the time being of our said Regiments of Life Guards and all others whom it may or shall concern to take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

Given at our Court of Saint James's, this 8th day of June, 1788, in the twenty-eighth year of our reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

(Signed) GEORGE YONGE.

Several months before the transformation was effected, the Commanding Officers of the two Troops of Lifeguards, the Marquess of Lothian and Lord Amherst, were notified of the King's intention :—

W. O., 14 March, 1788,

MY LORD,

I have it in Command from the King to acqt Your Lordship, that H.M. has been pleased to Order the following Changes to be made in

H.C.—II.

I I

the Establishment of the Horse Guards & Horse Grenadier Guards from the 25th day of June next inclusive.

The Two Troops of Horse Guards are to be formed into two Regts. of Life Guards, each consisting of Two Hundred and thirty Men, Officers included, the particulars of which Establishment together with the pay Annexed to each Rank, and the respective allowances for Clothing and other purposes, are specified in the Paper hereunto Annexed [*Enclosure*]; in explanation of which I have to observe that the Pay assigned to the Non-Commis^d Officers & Private Men includes a consideration for the Mens being at the expence of their own lodgings; And whenever that expence shall be obviated by their being lodged at the Public Charge, a suitable deduction in Aid of such Charge will be made from the pay of each Man, not exceeding fourpence p. Diem.

The first Regt. of Life Guards is to be under Your Lordships command as Colonel, And the Second under the Command of Lord Amherst.

The Officers for the said Regts. are to be appointed in such manner as shall be thought fit by H.M., who will signify to Your Lordship, and to Lord Amherst His Royal Pleasure thereupon.

Those Officers who may not be selected for Commissions in the new Regts. will be continued on their present Pay (subject however to a deduction of 3s per diem each in like manner, and upon the same principles, as were observed upon the Reduction of the Third & Fourth Troops of Horse Guards in 1746). They are also to retain their Rank and claim to future Service, and promotion in the Army; And their pretensions to dispose of such Commissions as they shall have purchased.

The Private Gentlemen now serving in the Horse Guards are to be dismissed, receiving at the public Charge a reasonable compensation for their admittance Money, according to such proportion, and in such manner as shall be previously agreed upon by Your Lordship, & Lord Amherst; the said Compensation not to exceed in any instance the Sum originally paid on Admittance.

As the Troops of Horse Grenadier Guards will be discontinued on the Establishment from Midsummer next, the new Regts. of Life Guards are to be recruited both in men and Horses by a transfer of such of their private Men and Horses as shall be found fit for Service; with the addition of such of the Men of the present Troops of Horse Guards as being fitt shall be willing to re-engage under the direction and approbation of Your Lordship, and Lord Amherst for your Respective Corps. All the Horses of the Grenadier Guards are therefore to be transferred for the service of the said new Regts. of Life Guards, and such as shall not be fitt or wanted to compleat the same are to be sold for the use of the Remount Fund of the said new Regts. & the produce accounted for by them accordingly.

The Clothing and appointments are to be conformable to y^e Patterns



*Jeffrey 1st Lord Amherst.
From a portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds
belonging to Earl Amherst.*

exhibited to the King about Christmas last, & then approved by H. Majesty.

Your Lordship is to have the full management, as at present, of the Clothing, Recruiting, Remounting, Training, Disciplining, and Ordering of your Regt., excepting that you are not to derive any Profits from the Funds borne on the Establishment and appropriated to the purposes of Clothing, Remounting and Subsisting the same, a separate allowance being now to be granted in lieu of all Emoluments whatsoever heretofore rec^d or claimed by the Colonels of the Horse Guards.

His M. will of course expect that your Regt be constantly kept complete both in men and Horses to the full Establishment thereof; and in the event of any Deficiencies (which can only be accidental and temporary, as no fixed Vacancies are to be admitted under the head of contingent or Warrant Men, or other Description of Non-effectives) the Savings arising therefrom, or from any other causes, in the several Funds provided for Clothing, Remounting, & Subsistence of Men & Horses are to be deemed Public Money and accounted for as such by Your Lordship. And a state of such Savings is regularly to be made up, & delivered to H.M. at the end of each Year.

I am commanded to add that though the alterations above directed are not to take place untill Midsummer next, Yet it is H.M. desire that every practicable Arrangement may be immediately made for carrying the same into execution.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) GEO. YONGE.

Lt. Genl.

the Marquis of Lothian.*

An identical letter was addressed to General Lord Amherst.†

* Wm. Jno. Kerr, ld. Newbattle, cornet 11th dragoons '54, capt. ?, major 19th dr. '59, lt. col. 12th dr. '60, of 7th dr. guards '66, of Scots tp. horse gren. gds '71. Succ. as mqs. of Lothian '75, col. 1st tp. Life Gds '77, of 1st reg^t Life Gds '88-9. gen^l '96, col. 11 drag. '98, of Scots Greys, 1813, d. '15. For the circumstances of his dismissal from the colonelcy of the 1st L. Gds. see APPENDIX.

† Sir Jeffrey Amherst, K.B., capt. & lt.-col. grenadier guards '45, col. 15th ft. '56, of 60th '58, governor & c.-in-c. in N. America '58-64: achievements, capture of Louisbourg and Fort du Quesne 1758, of Niagara, Ticonderoga, Crown Point & Quebec 1759, of Fort Levi & Montreal 1760, & of St. Johns N'foundland 1762. Resigned commissns. '68, but soon after col. 3rd foot and again col.-in-chief 60th reg^t of foot; cr. baron Amherst of Holmesdale '76, col. 2nd tp. H. Gren. Gds '79. col. 2nd tp. L. Gds '82 & of 2nd regt. L. Gds '88; field marshal, & c.-in-c. '88; d. '97.

Enclosed with the foregoing letter are the Particulars of the Establishment of the newly-constituted Regiments :—

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FIRST REGT. OF LIFE GUARDS.

	Pay per diem.	For 365 days.
1 Colonel	1 16 0	657 0 0
1 L. Colonel	1 11 0	565 15 0
1 Major	1 6 0	474 10 0
4 Captains, each 16s.	3 4 0	1,168 0 0
4 Lieutenants, each 11s.	2 4 0	803 0 0
1 Lieut. & Adjt.	0 11 0	200 15 0
4 Cornets, each 8s.*	1 12 0	584 0 0
1 Surgeon	0 8 0	146 0 0
4 Qr. Masrs., each 6s.	1 4 0	438 0 0
8 Corporals, each 2s. {	1 6 0	474 10 0
Horses, each 1s. 3d. {		
Clothing, each 6d.	0 4 0	73 0 0
4 Trumpeters, each 2s. 6d.	0 10 0	182 10 0
1 Kettle Drummer	0 2 6	45 12 6
196 Privates, each 1s. 6d. {	26 19 0	9,836 15 0
Horses, each 1s. 3d. {		
Clothing, each 6d.	4 18 0	1,788 10 0
230	47 15 6	17,437 17 6
Allowance to the Colonel in lieu of } Cloth ^e & all other Emoluments }	. . .	1,200 0 0
Allowance for Remounting . . . . .	. . .	400 0 0
Allowance to the Agent . . . . .	. . .	146 0 0
Total		£19,183 17 6
Another Regt. of like Numbers		19,183 17 6
		38,367 15 0
1 Chaplain for both Regts.		121 13 4
Total		£38,489 8 4

The following relates to the Officers not selected for Commissions in the new Regiments :—

SUPERNUMERARY OFFICERS OF THE 1ST TROOP OF HORSE GUARDS.

	Per diem.	Per Annum.
Lieutenant Colonel	1 4 0	438 0 0
1 Major	1 1 0	383 0 0
		821 5 0
Second Troop of the same number of rates . . . . .	. . .	821 5 0
1 Chaplain	0 6 8	121 13 4
		1,764 3 4

* Fixed at 8s. 6d.

Like letter & Establishment of the same date to the Right Honble General Lord Amherst.

To Lord Howard de Walden as Colonel of the First Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards, and to the Duke of Northumberland as Colonel of the Second Troop, formal notice was given of the impending changes :—

W. O., 14 *March* 1788.

MY LORD,

The King having thought fit to order, that the Two Troops of Horse Guards shall be formed into two Regts of Life Guards under the Command of their present Colonels; And that the Two Troops of Horse Grenadier Guards shall be discount^d. on y^e Establishmt.; I have the honor to acqt. your Grace therewith, & that the said Changes are to take Place from the 25 day of next June inclusive.

His M. is pleased to permit the Officers of the Grenadier Guards to retain their Rank & Claim to future Service & promotion in the Army, & their pretensions to sell such of their Commissions as they may have purchased.

I enclose for your Graces informⁿ a state of the Pay which the King has assigned to the several Officers on the reduction of the Troop under your Graces Command; in explanation of which, I have to add, that a Sum equal to the Allowances some of them enjoyed under the head of Non Effective or Warrant Men is included in the rate of their Pay; and that the Deduction of 3s per Diem from the Pay & allowances of the Officers therein specified is made in the same manner & upon the same principle as were observed on the Reduction of the 3^d & 4 Troops of Horse Guards in the Year 1746.

Such of the private Men of Your Graces Troop as shall be approved by the Colonels of the new Regts. of Life Guards are to be transferred thereto, & be thereupon entitled to the Pay of One Shilling & Sixpence per Diem, including Four Pence a Day Lodging Money.

All the horses of the Non Comm^d Officers & Private Men of the Troop are likewise to be transferred to the Life Guards either for Service in the same or to be sold by them and the produce to be carried to the credit of the Remount Fund of the said Regt.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEO. YONGE.

His Grace

The Duke of Northumberland*

Colonel of the 2^d Troop

of Horse Grenadier Guards.

* Hugh, earl Percy, b. 1742, ens. 24th foot '59, capt. 85th foot '59, served in the Seven Years' War, capt. & lt. col. Gren. Gds '62, col. 5th

A similar communication was made to Lord Howard de Walden.*

Lord Howard de Walden—on his own and the Duke of Northumberland's behalf—at once took steps to inquire as to a just provision being made for the disbanded officers of the Horse Grenadier Guards, and received the following reply :—

W. O., 25th March, 1788.

. . . Should any of the said Officers be hereafter promoted without purchase, & afterwards be desirous of retiring, he will be entitled to sell for so much as he had given for his commissions in the Grenadiers, not exceeding the regulated price of the commission to be vacated by his retiring ; & in case of purchasing forward, he will be entitled by the custom of the army to sell the situation from which he is advanced, although he had not purchased it.

In cases where the Officers of the reduced Troops may happen to die, or be promoted in the army without purchase, the pay & rank which they now hold by virtue of their appointments in the Grenads are entirely to cease & determine.

Every Officer who sells, will sell the rank as well as the pay attached to his situation.

It is H.M.'s intention to leave it in the option of the Officers to accept or decline the military appointments which may hereafter be offered to them ; unless they should be called upon to serve in the Regts. of Life Guards, when such option may not be left to them.

The sale of these commissions will be limited to the conferring of one step of rank & pay ; that is, the Lt. Col. may not sell to a Captn., nor to a brevet Major having pay only of Captn., the Major may sell only to a Captain, the Lt. & Captn., only to a Lieut. not under two years standing as Lieut., the sub-Lieut., to a Cornet or Ensign.

The allowance to the riding Master not appearing on the Establishment cannot with any propriety be continued to him beyond the 24th of June ; he must share the same fate as the rest of the non-com^d. & warrant Officers.

foot '68, A.D.C. to the King, commanded a brigade in America & distinguished himself in the retreat from Concord to Boston & the storming of Fort Washington ; promoted general ; col. 2nd tp. H. Gren. Gds '84 ; succ. as 2nd duke of Northumberland '86 ; col. of the Blues 1806-12 ; d. '17.

* John Whitwell, assumed (1749) name of Griffin, estab^d claim ('84) to barony of Howard de Walden, offr. in the 3rd Gds & brig. gen. during Seven Years' War, maj. gen. '59, lt. gen. '61, K.B. '61, col. 1st tp. H. Gren. Gds. '66-'88 ; genl. '78, field-marshal '96 ; d. '97.

agree with your L^{dp} in the propriety of having the proposed situation of the Officers perfectly understood; & and shall be very glad to give any further information that the D. of Northumberland or your L^{dp} may think necessary for that purpose.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEO. YONGE.

Rt. Hon.

Genl. Lord Howard.

Writing on March 14th, the War Office, true to its subsequent reputation for cheese-paring economy, had stated that the Pay of those Officers not selected for Commissions in the new Regiments was to be "subject to a deduction of 3s. per diem each." Remonstrances were not in vain:—

W. O., 7th May, 1788.

MY LORD,

I have the honor to acqt. your L^{dp} that H.M. has been graciously pleased to remit the Supernumerary Field Officers of the first Troop of Horse Guards, the deduction of three shillings a day, which had been intended to be made from their pay, by the proposed alteration of Establishment.

I have, &c.

(Signed) Geo. YONGE.

The Marq^s of Lothian,
&c. &c. &c.

Further representations from the Commanding Officers of the two Troops of Horse Grenadier Guards, relative to the Pay and Status of the Officers and men to be disbanded, called forth the following reply:—

W. O., 13th May, 1788.

MY LORD,

In consequence of the request of y^r Ldshp. & of the Duke of Northumberland as signified to be in y^r Lordships Lre of the 5th inst. I have now the honor to acqt. you, with H.M. final Pleasure upon the several points which have been at different times submitted for decision, in regard to the situation of the Commissioned, & Non Comm^d Off^s of the Horse Grenadier G^{ds} when the Reduction takes place.

H.M. having been pleased to remit the deduction of 3s. a day, intended to have been made from the Pay of the Off^s I enclose a fresh state of the said Pay, as it is to commence on the 25th June next, & to be issued Monthly with the subsistence of the rest of the Army.

Mr. Wm. Dods of this Office is the Person appointed to receive from the Pay-Office the Pay of the Officers, & to account with them for the same.

The Troops will be cleared up to the period of the Reduction with as much dispatch as the nature of the business will admit.

Should any of the Officers be hereafter promoted, & be afterwards desirous of retiring he will be entitled to sell, for as much as the regulated Price, allowed in the Royal Regt. of Horse Gds. on his retiring ; and in case of purchasing forward, he will be entitled by the custom of the Army, to sell the situation from which he is advanced, although he had not purchased it—every Officer who sells, will sell the Rank as well as the pay attach'd to his situation.

They will not be called upon to serve in the Life Gds. in an inferior Rank to what they now enjoy, but any further stipulation in regard to such Service does not meet with H.M. approbation.

All transactions of the Officers, relative to the sale of their Commissions, are to be submitted to H.M. through the S. at W. . . .

No Officer will be permitted to sell his Commission for a higher price than as before mentioned, which price is to be specified in his application for leave to sell, & such application must be unqualified by any stipulation regarding his successor.

The Chaplains & Surgeons are not to be under any other restrictions that they have heretofore been ; in regard to the disposal of their situations ; proper Testimonials will of course be required of the fitness of the Persons who may at any time be proposed for their successors by purchase.

The Reduced Surgeons are not to receive any allowance in addition to their Pay.

H.M. is graciously pleased to consent that the Riding Masters shall be paid two Shillings & six pence a day each, & the Serjeants One Shilling a day each, during their lives.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEO. YONGE.

Rt. Honble
Lord Howard.

APPENDIX

SIR WILLIAM FAWCETT writes to Earl Cornwallis on Lord Lothian's being deprived of the Gold Stick :—

London, *March 7th*, 1789.

MY DEAR LORD,

Though I make no doubt but that the joyful tidings of our Royal Master's most happy and providential recovery from his late illness will have already been forwarded to your Lordship from official authority, yet I cannot let pass this opportunity, without availing myself of it to congratulate you on an event so highly important to this country, & at the same time so singularly critical as it happened a few days only before the Regency Bill has passed both Houses of Parliament. I was at Kew yesterday & had the honour of a long conversation with His Majesty in the Gardens, when I had the happiness of finding His Majesty in as perfect health in every respect as ever I saw him in my whole life. Amongst a variety of other public mischiefs which are thus, by the intervention of Providence, most happily prevented, that of the intended general promotion in the army is one, & that not the least, especially as, had it once taken place, it could hardly ever have been remedied. . . .

Lord Lothian, who was particularly active in the late political bustle,* will be dispossessed of the Gold Stick, and replaced in the command of his regiment of Life Guards by Lord Dover, and the Irish Dragoon Guards will be offered in exchange to Lord Lothian.

Several other changes are talked of, but the particulars of them your Lordship will, without doubt, be informed of from better authority than I have it in my power to give you.

I remain, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM FAWCETT.

(*Cornwallis Papers.*)

* He had voted for the Regency Bill—an offence which the King could not condone.

CHAPTER LIII

THE subjoined letter—like the Order given on page 482—shows that the Life Guards had, from their first institution down to 1788, paid “admittance money” in order to get into the corps.

W. O., 18th June, 1788.

The enclosed paper * stating the number of men to be discharged from the two Troops of H. Gds., who are to receive back their admittance money, & the numbers of those who in lieu thereof prefer annuities for their lives, together with the amount of such admittance money & annuities respectively, having been laid before the King, has received His Royal approbation, & that I have directed the Paym^r Gen^l., to issue to the Agent of the 1st Troop of H. Gds., the sum of ten thousand four hundred & ninety five pounds, eleven shillings, & to the Agent of the second Troop, thirteen thousand, three hundred & thirty five pounds, twelve shillg^s., to enable them to pay to the discharged men of the respective Troops the several sums allowed to them in consideration of what they paid at the time of their admittance into the said Troops.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEO. YONGE.

Gold Stick in Waiting.

The following relates to the price of Commissions. It is also of interest as showing an early stage in the gradual approximation between the Life Guards and the Blues—a process which was developed still further in August, 1814, when it was ordered that they should be brigaded together :—

W. O., 3rd July, 1788.

SIR,

I am to signify to You the Kings Pleasure that You do summon the General Officers commanding the two Regiments of Life Guards and the Royal Regt. of Horse Guards ; and lay before them the enclosed

* The paper mentioned does not appear to be extant.

Papers [*Enclosure I.*] stating the Prices of Commissions in the Horse Guards, Horse Grenadier Guards, and Horse,* as settled by the latest General Regulations and shewing the daily Rates of Pay [*Enclosure II.*] now allowed to the Officers of the Life Guards (including the Supernumerary Lieut. Col. and Major) and to the Officers of the Royal Regt. of Horse Guards as also to the Officers of the Reduced Troops of Horse Gren' Guards who are permitted to dispose of their Commissions notwithstanding the Reduction.

You will acquaint the said General Officers that they are directed by the King to take these Papers into their consideration and to state to H.M. whether in their Opinion the Prices specified therein or what other Sums, should be allowed to be paid for each Commission in their respective regiments; as also for the Commissions of the Officers of the late Troops of Gren' Guards.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) GEO. YONGE.

Sir Charles Gould,
Judge Advocate General.

ENCLOSURE I

PRICES OF COMMISSIONS

1st and 2nd Troops of Horse Guards as fixed in 1766.

	Prices.	Difference in Value between the several Commissions in Succession.
First Lieut Colonel	5,500	400
Second Lieut Colonel	5,100	800
Cornet and Major	4,300	200
Guidon and Major	4,100	1,400
Exempt and Captain	2,700	1,200
Brigadier and Lieut. or Adj. and Lieut.	1,500	300
Sub Brigadier and Cornet	1,200	1,200
		<hr/>
		£5,500

1st and 2nd Troops of Horse Gren' Guards as fixed in 1766.

	Prices.	Difference &c
Lieutenant Colonel	5,400	1,200
Major	4,200	1,100

* *I.e.* the Blues, which had formerly been "the First Horse." The change which gave the other regiments of Horse the status of dragoons left the Blues in a category apart as "the Horse."

	Prices.	Difference &c
Lieutenant and Capt.	3,100	100
Guidon and Capt.	3,000	1,300
Sub Lieut.	1,700	300
Adjutant	1,400	1,400
		<hr/>
		<u>£ 5,400</u>

Horse as settled in 1766, except as to the Capt. Lieut which at that time was only £2,000.*

	Prices	Difference &c
Lieut Colonel	5,200	950
Major	4,250	1,150
Captain	3,100	650
Captain Lieutenant with Rank of Capt† .	2,450	700
Lieutenant	1,750	150
Cornet	1,600	1,600
		<hr/>
		<u>£ 5,200</u>

ENCLOSURE II

RATES OF PAY per Diem of the Officers of the Life Guards, Royal Regt. of Horse Guards, and of the Reduced Troops of Horse Grenadier Guards.

	Life Guards	Royal Regt. of Horse Guards	Reduced Troops of Horse Gren ^r . Guards
Lieutenant Colonel	1 11 0	1 9 6	1 10 0
Supernumerary Lieut Col.	1 7 0	—	—
Major	1 6 0	1 7 0	1 5 0
Supernumerary Major	1 4 0	—	—
Lt. & Captain	—	—	0 19 6
Guidon & Captain	—	—	0 18 6
Captain	0 16 0	1 1 6	—
Lieut	0 11 0	0 15 0	—
Cornet	0 8 6‡	0 14 0	—
Sub Lieutenant	—	—	0 12 6
Chaplain	0 6 8	0 6 8	0 6 8
Adjutant	0 11 0	0 5 0	0 9 6
Surgeon	0 8 0	0 6 0	0 8 0

* *I.e.* Royal Horse Guards (Blue).

† Settled in 1772.

‡ Originally fixed at 8s.

The decision recorded below rests on the obvious consideration that the new arrangements made in connection with the reorganisation of the Life Guards could not come into force before it took place. Until then the former regulations would naturally remain operative.

W. O., 14th July, 1788.

MADAM,

I have received the application by you & Mrs Morley, & am sorry to acqt you, that I cannot relieve you under the circumstances therein mentioned.

His Majesty ordered that the compensation to be made to the private Gentlemen of the Horse Guards, in lieu of admission money, should be entirely regulated by the direction of the Colonel of those Troops; & as your Husband died before the Reduction took place, it rests entirely with the Colonels, & (in their absence) the Commanding Officers, to make you such Allow^{ce}, as it had heretofore been usual to grant to the representatives of the private Gentlemen who died, while the said Troops remained on the Establishment.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GEO YONGE.

Mrs Margaret Simpson.

Formal notification is here made to the Treasury of the pending changes and of the financial arrangements they entail :—

W. O., 27th May, 1788.

SIR,

His Majesty having been pleased to direct that the Two Troops of Horse Grenadier Guards should be reduced on the 24th June next inclusive, and that the Two Troops of Horse Guards should be formed into Two Regiments of Life Guards, and that the Pay of the said Regiments should take place on the Establishment from the 25th June next, I am to acquaint you therewith for the information of the Lord Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury. Enclosed I send you a Copy [*Enclosure I.a*] of the Establishment of the said Regiments with a state [*Enclosure I.b*] of their Subsistence, and also a State [*Enclosures II.a and II.b*] of the Pay and Subsistence of each of the Supernumerary Officers of the Troops of Horse Guards, and Officers of the Reduced Troops of Horse Grenadier Guards, [*Enclosures III.a and III.b*] from the same time.

For their Lordship's further information I am to lay before you the following particulars relative to this Subject.

494 STORY OF THE HOUSEHOLD CAVALRY

It is proposed that the Pay of the Supernumerary Officers of the 1st Troop of Horse Guards, and of the Chaplain be issued to the Agent the 1st Regim^t of Life Guards, and the Pay of the Supernumerary Officers of the 2d Troop of Horse Guards to the Agent of the 2^d Regiment of Life Guards.

And in regard to the Pay of the Officers of the Reduced Troops of Horse Grenadier Guards, it having been thought expedient to appoint some person to receive, & distribute the same to the several Officers respectively ; Mr. William Dodds of this Office has been appointed for this Service.

The annual Allowance of Eighty Pounds to the Agent above mentioned, and of Twenty-five Pounds to the Deputy Provost Marshall, is to be issued to the said M^r. Dods without deduction by Quarterly Payments.

It is also proposed that the Sums borne on the Establishment of the Regts. of Life Guards for the Allowance to the Colonel, & for Remounting, as also for the Pay & Clothing of the Corporals & Private Men, and for the Charge of their Horses, be issued without deduction, & that the remainder of the Pay of the said Regiments, the Pay of the Supernumerary Officers of the Horse Guards, and the Officers of the Reduced Troops of Horse Grenadier Guards be subject to the customary Deductions of Poundage and Hospital.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GEO. YONGE.

George Rose, Esqr.

ENCLOSURE I

LIFE GUARDS. A. *Establishment*

ESTABLISHMENT of the 1st Regt. of LIFE GUARDS, commanded by the Marquis of Lothian from 25th June 1788

						Pay p. Diem
1	Colonel, and in lieu of his Servants	.	.	.	.	1 16 0
1	Lieut. Colonel & in lieu of Do.	.	.	.	.	1 11 0
1	Major & in lieu of Do.	.	.	.	.	1 6 0
4	Captains each 16s.	.	.	.	.	3 4 0
4	Lieutenants 11s.	.	.	.	.	2 4 0
1	Lieutenant and Adjutant	.	.	.	.	0 11 0
4	Cornets each 8s. 6d.	.	.	.	.	1 14 0
1	Surgeon	.	.	.	.	0 8 0
4	Quarter Masters each 6s.	.	.	.	.	1 4 0
8	Corporals	2s.	} 3s. 3d.	.	.	1 6 0
	Horses	1s. 3d.		.	.	
	Clothing	6d.		.	.	0 4 0
4	Trumpeters	2s. 6d.	.	.	.	0 10 0
1	Kettle Drummer	.	.	.	.	0 2 6

LIFE GUARDS' PAY & SUBSISTENCE 495

		Pay p. Diem
196 Privates each	1s. 6d. }	
Horses	1s. 3d. }	2s. 9d.
Clothing	6d.	4 18 0
Allowance to the Agent	. . . . .	0 8 0
<hr/>		
230	Which for 183 Days from 25th June, to 24th December 1788, amounts to	48 5 6
	Allowance to the Colonel in lieu of Clothing & all other emoluments for the same time	8,834 6 6
	Allowance for Remounting for the same time . . .	600 0 0
		200 0 0
<hr/>		
		9,634 6 6
230	{ Like Establishment of the 2d Regt. of Life Guards, commanded by Lord Amherst for the same time	9,364 6 6
1	Chaplain for both Regts. for the same time . . .	61 0 0
<hr/>		
461	Total for the Two Regiments . . .	<u>£19,329 13 0</u>

B. Subsistence

State of SUBSISTENCE of the 1st Regt. of LIFE GUARDS, commanded by the Marquis of Lothian, from 25th June, 1788.

		Per Diem
1 Colonel	. . . . .	1 7 0
1 Lieutenant Colonel	. . . . .	1 3 3
1 Major	. . . . .	0 19 6
4 Captain	each 12s.	2 8 0
4 Lieutenants	each 8s. 3d.	1 13 0
1 Lieutenant & Adjutant	. . . . .	0 8 3
4 Cornets	each 6s. 6d.	1 6 0
1 Surgeon	. . . . .	0 6 0
4 Quarter Masters	each 4s. 6d.	0 18 0
8 Corporals	3s. 3d.	1 6 0
4 Trumpeters	2s. 0d.	0 8 0
1 Kettle Drummer	. . . . .	0 2 0
196 Private Men	each 2s. 9d.	26 19 0
Agent	. . . . .	0 6 0
<hr/>		
230		£39 10 0
230	{ Like State of Subsistence of the 2d Regt. of Life Guards, commanded by General Lord Amherst, from same time . . .	39 10 0
1	Chaplain for both Regiments	0 5 0
<hr/>		
	Total for the two Regiments	<u>£79 5 0</u>

ENCLOSURE II

SUPERNUMERARY OFFICERS. A. *Pay*

State of the PAY of the SUPERNUMERARY OFFICERS of the Two Troops of HORSE GUARDS, to take place from the 25th June 1788 inclusive.

	Pay per Diem
Second Lieutenant, & Lieutenant Colonel.	1 7 0
Guidon and Major	1 4 0
Total for one Troop	2 11 0
One Troop more of like Numbers and rates	2 11 0
	5 2 0
One Chaplain	0 6 8
Total	£5 8 8

Which for 183 days, from 25th June to the 24th }
December 1788, both days inclusive } 994 6 0

B. *Subsistence*

State of the SUBSISTENCE of the SUPERNUMERARY OFFICERS of the Two Troops of HORSE GUARDS to take place from the 25th June 1788 inclusive.

	Per Diem
Second Lieutenant, and Lieutenant Colonel	1 0 0
Guidon and Major	0 18 0
Total for One Troop	1 18 0
One Troop of like Numbers and Rates	1 18 0
	3 16 0
One Chaplain	0 5 0
Total	£4 1 0

ENCLOSURE III

HORSE GRENADIERS (Reduced Troops). A *Pay*. State of the PAY of the OFFICERS of the Two Reduced Troops of HORSE GRENADIER GUARDS, to take place from the 25th June 1788 inclusive.

	Pay per Diem.
1 Lieutenant Colonel	1 10 0
1 Major	1 5 0
2 Lieutenants & Captains each 19s. 6d.	1 19 0
1 Guidon & Captain	0 18 6
3 Sub Lieutenants each 12s. 6d.	1 17 6

ALLOWANCE TO RETIRED OFFICERS 497

	Pay per Diem
1 Adjutant	0 9 6
1 Chaplain	0 6 8
1 Surgeon	0 8 0
Riding Master	0 2 6
Total for One Troop	8 16 8
Another Troop of like Numbers and Rates	8 16 8
Total per Diem	£17 3 4
Which for 183 days from 25th June to 24th December } 1788, both days inclusive is	3,233 0 0
Allowance to the Agent for the same time	40 0 0
Do. to the Deputy Provost Marshal for the same } time	12 10 0
Total	£3,285 10 0

B. Subsistence

State of the SUBSISTENCE of the OFFICERS of the Two Reduced Troops of HORSE GRENADIER GUARDS, to take place from the 25th June 1788 inclusive.

	Per Diem
1 Lieutenant Colonel	1 3 6
1 Major	0 19 0
2 Lieutenants & Captains each 15s. 0d.	1 10 0
1 Guidon & Captain	0 14 0
3 Sub Lieutenants each 9s. 6d.	1 8 6
1 Adjutant	0 7 6
1 Chaplain	0 5 0
1 Surgeon	0 6 0
Riding Master	0 2 0
Total for the Troop	6 15 6
One troop more of like Numbers and Rates . . .	6 15 6
Total	£13 11 0

CHAPTER LIV

THE following extracts from an Order Book of the Second Life Guards are of considerable interest, not only in themselves, but also for the side lights which they throw on historic events. It will be seen that the series extends over a period of nearly half a century—from 1788 to 1831; but by far the greater number of the Orders belong to the seven years from 1797 to 1803. The present chapter covers the period to the end of 1797.

STANDING ORDERS.

1. *Additional Rank.*—The King has been pleased to grant additional rank to the Officers of the Regiment as follows.

Lieut-Col. Buckley to be	Lieut, and Lieut-Col.
Major Lemon to be	Major and Lieut-Col.
Cornet H. B. Atherton to be	Cornet and Sub-Lieut.
„ E. H. Lambert.	„ „
„ G. Calland.	„ „
„ R. I. Sturke.	„ „

His Majesty having been graciously pleased to comply with the request of the Colonels of the Regiments of Life Guards by granting the above additional rank to the Officers of those Corps, they have in consequence thereof thought it incumbent on them in order to preserve the most perfect and strict discipline by the respective Officers, to issue the following orders.

Duties of Lieut-Cols.—The Lieutenant Colonels commanding the Regiments to take especial care that the whole system of discipline and interior economy thereof be duly observed and that the Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Soldiers diligently discharge their duty agreeably to their respective Commissions and Situations and according to the Custom of the Army.

Of Major and Adjut.—The Major, assisted by the Adjutant, to superintend all Exercises, Drills etc. strictly adhering to the Forms and Regulations prescribed; likewise to inspect the distribution of the Forage, the Feeding of the Horses, and to be answerable for the

Regimental Books and Papers, and for all other things appertaining to the Duty of that Commission.

Of Captains.—Each Captain to be responsible for the Good Appearance and Order of his Troop equally with respect to Men, Horse, Arms, Clothing, Accoutrements, Necessaries etc. etc. and that the Men are regularly subsisted weekly, and fully settled Monthly conformable to the Standing Orders. He is also to make a Monthly inspection or oftener if necessary of all the foregoing articles, and to make a report accordingly to the Commanding Officer.

Of Subalterns.—The Subaltern Officers to attend the Parade of their respective Troops, and carefully to inspect the appearance of both the men and horses and all the appointments for which they are to be answerable at the General Parade. They are also in turn to make a weekly inspection of the Troops, including all particulars as before specified, and to make a report to their respective Captains, who are to sign and to send it to the Commanding Officer, if occasion should require.

A Subaltern Officer of the Day to attend at the Stables to see that all the Standing Orders and Duties of the Regiment are punctually executed.

(Signed) AMHERST,
Colonel.

November 20, 1790.

ORDER.

March 4, 1797.

Arrangements for the Preservation of the Peace.—There being some reason to apprehend a disturbance of the Public Peace this evening,—One Hundred men from the Life Guards with Officers in proportion are to be ready at their Stables at Six o'clock, P.M. Unless any actual disturbance should exist it does not appear necessary that the above force should remain under these orders later than eleven o'clock at Night.

MAJOR-GENERAL LORD CATHCART'S* ORDERS.

September 25, 1797.

Relating to Dress and Accoutrements.—The Alterations which His Majesty has been pleased to make of late in the Dress and appointments of his Cavalry make it necessary to give some Regimental Orders on the Subject of the Dress and Appearance of Officers when in Regimentals to be dressed in every respect according to the order of the Regiment.

Hair.—To be queued, the queues of the same length and size as ordered for the men; the Hair Ribbon to be kept as Black as possible,

* William Schaw Cathcart, succ. as 10th baron 1776, Scottish representative peer, brig-gen. in the Peninsula '93, col. 2nd L. G. '97, ambassador to St. Petersburg 1812, cr. baron Greenock '07, earl of Cathcart (U. K.) '14, d. '43.

and to be tied at the top with a short ribbon instead of a Rosette, the loops and ends of the bow knot to be three inches long and always kept free from powder, the Tupee to be combed back and dressed as Officers please, so that it is dressed: the side locks to be dressed or curled so as to cover the ear, but at no time to be lower than the ear.

Hat.—Both Hats to be made according to the pattern deposited at the Comtroller's Office, as approved by His Majesty for the Cavalry. The lace of the laced hat to be according to the Regimental pattern; the feather to be the full length of the pattern, and made on whalebone of an equal thickness at both ends, to be worn at all times, on or off Duty. Officers and Men are to have their hats fastened at Field Days, and on service mounted.

Stocks.—Both black and White Stocks to be made according to the Regimental Pattern, and to be worn with a buckle behind, the White Stocks to be worn on no occasion except in Full Regimentals, with Shoes.

Coats.—According to the exact Regimental pattern; ten buttons on the facings, including one on the Collar, care to be taken that the lappels and button holes are of the Regimental Length and Breadth. New Coats to be made full over the chest, and to hook easily to the lappel when on duty. That Officers may wear Coats more sloped off at other times if they prefer it. Regimental Coats of the whole Regiment to be always hooked thro' the frill at the top of the lappel, even when the Lappel is buttoned across, and at the least three inches of the Frill to be seen—the skirts of the Coats always to be hooked back.

Waistcoats.—None to be seen except cloth or Kerseymere. Full dress with skirts. Frock round.

Breeches.—None but Kerseymere or white leather. Kerseymere to have five buttons and a Buckle at the knee; Leather Breeches to be made as Pantaloons without any buttons at the knee.

Gloves.—To be of sufficient length completely to cover the wrist in every position of the hand.

Epaulets.—The Center of them is to be fixed on the point or highest part of the shoulder, so as to never hang forward.

Boots.—According to a Regimental pattern to be made by the first of November, and none other to be worn after that time on Duty. They are to rise a full inch above the knee, when first drawn on, so as not to sink above an inch. These boots must be heel-balled and rubbed on a wooden leg, so as to bear the highest polish.

Spurs.—Always to be worn of Steel according to the Regimental Pattern; to rest upon a spur-piece, half an inch above the heel of the boot.

Belts.—According to the Regimental Pattern they are to be had of the Accoutrement Maker to the Regiment. The Cross Belt, if ordered, to be put on over the sword belt, and to pass under the plate, the Cartridge Box and Ring of the Sword belt to be of Equal height, and to come just under the Sash.

Sash.—To be of Regimental length and pattern to go three times round the waist, the end to hang down the right side, as low as the skirt of the coat.

Swords.—Two only are regimental, or ever to be worn with Regimentals, the Broad Sword and the Gilt Sword ordered by His Majesty for the Cavalry: the Broad Sword to be worn on all duties with Arms mounted or dismounted always in the belt and always with the leather sling, and Crimson and gold Tossil [*sic*]: the other Sword may be worn at all other times with a frog under the waistcoat to hang just low enough to be quite clear of the Bridle Hand when on horse-back, this sword is always to have a crimson and gold Sword Knot of the pattern approved by His Majesty. The Adjutant will show the method of putting on Sashes and Sword Knots.

Pistols.—Regimental ones to be in the Holsters, well flinted on all mounted duties whatsoever.

All duties, when Officers are named in Orders, are to be done in Regimentals, but Officers whilst in London may visit their troop Stables in Coloured Clothes [*i.e.* plain clothes].

Directions as to the Order on the March:—

September 26, 1797.

The King's Life Guard will in future be told off in half ranks, and by three divisions; each division will consist of eight files, and be told off by double files and ranks of threes, the Officers and one Corporal not included in any telling.

One Corporal to each of the Flank Divisions and a Lance Corporal to the Centre Division.

The Guard will march by double files from the right in the following order, which is not to be varied unless from any extraordinary obstruction.

A Corporal and two men from the right as an advance Guard.

The Trumpeter.

The Captain.

The First Division.

The Second Subaltern.

The Second Division.

The Eldest Subaltern.

The Third Division.

The Quarter Master.

[? A Corporal and two men, as a rear Guard.]

Orders as to (1) Chargers; (2) Sunday Church parade:—

October 10, 1797.

No alteration has been made concerning the Colour or description of Officers' chargers in the Regiments of Life Guards, nor has His Majesty signified his intention of making a change.

Officers who have not proper horses must immediately provide themselves to the approbation of the Commanding Officer ; no excuse will be admitted for not having a long tail'd Charger in perfect condition and fit for duty except accident or such Lameness or Illness as may appear curable.

Officers for Guard or any Royal Escort must Ride their Chargers, and always when in Review Order, or at Field Days, except when permission is given to ride other horses on Party or detachment, and on Musters and common days of Exercise. Officers may ride any gelding—greys and cropped horses excepted—above fifteen hands high, that is of sufficient Figure and Bone, that will be steady in the ranks at all paces, and handy to rein back and passage.

Commanding Officers of Troops may appoint a man of the Troop to take care of his own Charger, and one for that of each Officer who desires it, together with his Troop Horse, for which he is to be paid 3/- per week, and will be excused Guards and Parties, except those his Officer mounts or goes upon, in which he is to be always included ; but he must attend every parade, and take or send his horses in Watering order with the rest. Field Officers may in like manner have the assistance of one man among them for their Chargers, who will be excused duty. But the Strength and Nature of the Regiment will not admit of any Men being taken from the ranks as servants.

Officers' Regimental Horses to be provided with stalls in the Stables according to rank in preference to all others, and after Regimental Horses, Second Chargers or Saddle Horses ; but no draft Horses or Ponies to be taken in except upon sufferance, when there are empty Stalls. No strangers' Horses to be taken in at Livery in the Troop Stables on any pretence.

Officers who have their own Stables may receive their allowance for their effective horses present with the regiment, not exceeding the regulated number, two of which must be fit for the ranks.

No Man whatsoever to be excused appearing on Sunday Morning parade, except the sick and such men as have the Commanding Officer's Leave for that day. The Condition of Swords will always be examined at that time.

Officers' undress uniform on guard :—

October 12, 1797.

When His Majesty is out of town, the Officer on the King's Guard may mount in Frock Regimentals, with the Plain Hat and Goat Skin Furniture ; but whenever His Majesty comes to town, they are to put on the full uniform with Laced Hats and red Furniture, and they are not to be seen in Frocks on any of those Days.

Regulations as to stocks, cloaks and straps :—

November 1, 1797.

The turnovers are to be laid aside, the Regiment will be completed

with Stocks and Stock Buckles, and care to be taken that they are properly worn, and that the men appear in them on all occasions.

The Waistbelt to be worn under the Coat as formerly till further orders, but without the Bayonet Carriage.

On all mounted duties the pistols are to be in the Holsters whether for exercise or Service.

The Cloaks are to be rolled as usual and the white Bradoons and Cloak Straps are to be worn on the King's Guard and when in review order but on all other occasions the Black Bradoons and the Black Cloak Straps are to be used.

When without baggage the cloaks are to be folded the red side out and carried behind according to a pattern shown to the Corporals on the 31st October, and when in marching order, the cloaks are lapped long and carried over the holsters.

The Officers are to have red Cloak-Cases edged with Blue, of the same pattern with their Blue ones which are to be worn with white straps and white Bradoons on all occasions when the mens cloaks are rolled but on other occasions they will continue to wear the blue ones with black straps.

White fronts of Buff to be worn at all times on the Bridles of the whole regiment and to be kept constantly clean.

No Deviation from the Orders already given concerning Dress and appearance of Officers and men can be permitted on any account whatsoever.

An Additional loose runner is to be put on the Cruppers to confine the end of the Strap and care must be taken to secure the ends of the Breast Plate Straps and of all other Straps; inattention in this Particular always gives a slovenly appearance.

On all duties at least Five Rounds of Service Cartridges are to be carried.

The Regiment will parade in Field day order at One P.M. to-morrow mounted at the Stables.

Care of riding boots :—

November 11, 1797.

It is particularly ordered that the men do not wear their boots when not on duty or ordered to be in readiness to ride.

The Boots are to be pulled off the first time the men have an opportunity of going to their lodgings after riding.

The Frocks are not to be worn on the Stable duty, on any pretence at any of the Stable Hours.

The Quarter Master, and in his absence, the Orderly Corporal of the Troop, is answerable that no disobedience of this order passes unnoticed.

The Quarter Master in waiting must always be in the way, but especially at three o'clock Stable Time.

Belts and swords for officers and warrant officers :—

November 30, 1797.

The Officers of the Regiment will in future wear the Cross Belts on all mounted Duties, Riding School excepted.

The red cloak cases for the Officers must be worn from the next Guard after to-morrow.

The whole Regiment will probably be on Duty in laced Clothing in the middle of next month : the Officers must take care to be provided accordingly with Regimental Appointments.

The Warrant Officers must have their Swords and Cross Belts. Their Belts to be nearly the breadth of the Private Belts, no Breast Plate, the Pouch the same as the Officers with an ornament the same as the Privates but Gilt. Quarter Masters may wear Privates swords till they have their own. Sword Knots always to be worn.

The Men must immediately make knee-pads and bring them to the Stables, that the Horses heels may be well rubbed, especially at the last Stable Time, both by hand and with soft Wisps.

Some Stable regulations :—

December 5, 1797.

The Stirrups are to hang down as formerly, in the Stables, and not to be crossed over the holsters.

The Quarter Masters and Corporals are to learn the manner of fastening up the horses tails in wet weather, which has been approved and will be shown by the Riding Master, after which they will instruct the Men of their Troops and they are answerable that their tails are never fastened up in any other manner. The Orderly Corporals are to form up in front of their respective Troops for all Guards, and Detachments and to answer for their men and are to wait there until dismissed.

Stoppages for the Clerk's salary :—

December 13, 1797.

One Guinea will be stopped at the agents from each Officer on his appointment to the Regiment and half-a-Guinea yearly from every Officer for the Clerk of the Regiment.

CHAPTER LV

THE present chapter relates to the years 1798—1801.

MAJOR-GENERAL LORD CATHCART'S ORDERS.

King's Guard order:—

February 5, 1798.

The Officers will mount the King's Guard with Laced Hats and Furniture both in full and Frock Dress until further orders.

Riding School:—

February 10, 1798.

The Time for Officers riding for instruction will in future be Nine O'clock, by which time Officers who are to ride are to be present and ready to mount every riding morning, which will be every day except Saturdays and Sundays.

Officers are to ride in Cocked hats and Black Topp'd Boots.

The Riding Master is to be obeyed in the School during the Instructions and the ceremony of the Hat as practised in all Manages is to be regularly observed.

The following forfeits will be paid to the Expenses of the School:—

- I. Half a Guinea for a fall or involuntary separation of the Rider's body from the Horse.
- II. A Crown for the dropping a Hat.
- III. Half-a-Crown for Dropping any other appointment.
- IV. Half-a-Crown for omitting the Ceremony of the Hat on coming, Going out, Dismounting and after mounting.

The patriotism of the Second Life Guards is well exemplified in the handsome offer which the Corporals and Privates made quite spontaneously during the War with the French Republic:—

February 15, 1798.

The Following Letter from the Corporals and Privates of the Second Regiment to the Adjutant has been communicated to the Commanding Officer:—

“SIR,

“We, the Corporals and Privates of His Majesty's Second Regiment of Life Guards, wishing to express our Zeal on the present

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occasion beg leave to offer a small contribution towards expenses of the present just and necessary war, to which each will subscribe according to his ability and situation, and will be thankful for you acquainting our Commanding Officer with these our Loyal Intentions.

(Signed)

EDWARD SWALES,	Corporal for	Capt Colland's Troop
JAMES RATHBONE,	"	" Major Vicar's Troop
JOHN WALES,	"	" Capt Hamilton's Troop
JOHN SILCOCK,	"	" Capt Dottin's Troop
WM EASTERLY,	"	" Capt Beresford's Troop."

Major-General Lord Cathcart has ordered this letter to be inserted in the Orderly Book as being extremely honourable to the Regiment, and a pledge of their loyalty and attachment to the person and Government of their King whose Life Guards they are.

The desire of the whole Regiment to be permitted to make a small contribution from their Pay on this account has been laid before the King, and His Majesty has been pleased to receive this mark of the zeal of the Regiment very graciously, and to allow it to be carried into effect.

The Sum carried into the Bank on this account stands as follows:—

Commissioned Officers	.	£96	7	0	equal to six days' pay
Quarter Masters	.	1	10	0	equal to one days' pay
Trumpeters	.	1	10	0	equal to one days' pay
Rank and File	.	26	7	6	equal to one days' pay

Total . £125 14 6

Several of the Rank and File and some Troops having expressed a desire of contributing a greater Sum and as far as several days' pay, they are entitled to all the praise and credit which their Spirit and the warmth of their Loyalty deserves. But as the Zeal and Attachment of the Regiment which appears by their voluntary Offer on this occasion is more valuable on its own account than any sum of money that could be subscribed, Major-General Lord Cathcart has advised the Rank and File to restrain their donations to one day's pay, which he considers as an ample Proof of their Good Will.

"Walking out" order:—

March 18, 1798.

It is particularly ordered that the Men are not to appear in the Public Streets in their Stables dress or otherwise than they would come to the Parade. If they go on leave or for any time they should wear the frock dress; if for a short time, or not to appear much in the principal streets or Parks, they may wear their Jackets and Caps with very clean Stockings and Gaiters, and a switch in their hands and so as to be creditable to themselves and the Regiment. But any man seen in the dress of the Regiment out of Quarters *dirty* is to be reported.

ORDERS.

August 15, 1798.

Sloping Swords will be discontinued on all Regimental Dutys till further orders.

Officers' regimental horses must be long tailed Bays, and the Forage regulations must be observed:—

MAJOR-GENERAL LORD CATHCART'S ORDERS.

November 11, 1798.

. . . The Accompts of these Regiments being made up upon honour it is to be presumed that the Officers' Horses foraged at the Stables are the real property of the Officers in whose name they stand.

His Majesty having given repeated and particular orders that the Regimental Horses of the Commissioned Officers of the Second Regiment are to continue long tail'd Bays, and His Majesty having remarked at the Reviews that Officers were not Regimentally Mounted, one horse at least of each Officer must be of this description, and in the absence of such Horses, one of the number above specified will be disallowed both as to stalls and forage.

No Commutation of Forage nor perquisite of forage can be allowed to Grooms, and any Trooper found to carry the smallest Article of forage out of the Yard will be brought to a Court Martial unless by the Order of the Commanding Officer.

When Troopers have the care of Officers' Horses, they must go for their forage at the same time with the troops at the first morning feeding times, and are not to receive more than one day's ration for each Horse at a time.

When Officers have their own Servants to look after their Horses, they may by the Commanding Officer's leave have a longer delivery of Forage at one time.

The Money charged for Officers' Horses must be taken Monthly at the Agents and Charged against the Officers' subsistence, as the Forage is paid for by Public Money.

Regulations as to Hair-powder and "Pigtails":—

December 12, 1798.

The Regiment will appear powdered every day following that on which the King's Guard is relieved except when such day may fall on a Monday or Saturday, an Officer per Troop will attend on those days and particular attention is to be paid to the Hair on the Parades, as it is introduced as a practice to produce the most correct uniformity.

The leather Queus are to be taken into store except such as may be reserved for men who cannot dress their hair with them, the top of the

queus to be in a line with the top of the Stock Buckle and the rosette half an inch lower. The Queus of the whole regiment, Officers and Men, must be uniform and at least of the length and thickness of the leather ones, one of which will be kept as a pattern.

Soldiers under arms are not to taste Liquor; and officers are responsible for their men's good conduct:—

January 29, 1799.

The Court of Enquiry of which Colonel Barton was President is dissolved and their Report approved of.

Although there does not appear sufficient grounds for bringing the persons complained of to a Court Martial, yet the Colonel of the regiment has observed with the deepest concern that the behaviour of Part of the Picquet on the evening of the 26th December, 1798, was far from being correct or creditable.

It is most scandalous and indecent for a Soldier while under arms to taste Liquor of any Sort. If stolen or taken by force, the punishment should be death; if offered, it should be refused with disdain unless in any extraordinary case, the Commanding Officer should order Refreshment to be distributed in his presence. Men of Irregular and undisciplined Corps may be guilty of such Crimes through ignorance, but in a regular regiment of Horse or Foot such conduct as drinking under arms would be felt as a disgrace to the regiment. Therefore in a Regiment of Life Guards, where every man is bound to support the character of a Soldier and a Gentleman, such a Crime must be held infamous, and punished in the most exemplary manner.

This extends to all Videttes, Sentrys, Escorts, Patrols, Street or Covering parties, or other duties where men are posted.

Officers of whatever rank who may command detachments, Guards, or parties, are to remember that they are responsible for the behaviour of every man under their command; and although Men may be punished for misbehaviour, yet if it appears that the Officer has not taken the Steps his duty prescribes to prevent irregularity, he must expect to be brought to the most strict and serious account for the neglect.

A single man is on few occasions to be detached; if two are sent, the one must answer for the conduct of the other; if three or more are detached, one must be a Corporal or Lance Corporal, and will be answerable for the rest. More considerable parties are commanded by a Commission or Warrant Officer. Thus, though the Commanding Officer of a Guard or Party may be obliged to detach many separate parties, yet he remains answerable not only for the propriety of the Marching Detachments, but for the behaviour of every man out of his sight, unless he has used proper care in putting these detachments under the charge of Responsible Persons.

Two Orders relate to bad horsemanship when on escort duty, and to misuse of Trumpeters' horses :—

March 21, 1799.

. . . and in like manner if any Horse misbehaves, or the rider shows bad Horsemanship, near His Majesty's person, or any of the Royal Family Carriages, is to be reported in writing to the Commanding Officer.

June 7, 1799.

The Trumpeters are not to ride their Regimental Horses on the Road or for pleasure without leave, still less to lend them.

The King commends the Regiment's appearance :—

June 20, 1799.

His Majesty was most Graciously pleased to commend the Appearance of the Second Regiment of Life Guards at their review this morning in the most strongest terms. The Regiment will certainly feel themselves rewarded by this applause for the Pains and attention which have been bestowed by all ranks since last review, and will consider that it is the more necessary to continue the same in order to support the reputation they have acquired.

The Commander-in-Chief's Inspection :—

August 1, 1799.

His Royal Highness Field Marshal the Duke of York, having been most graciously pleased to signify his intention of being present at the exercise of the Second Regiment of Life Guards at nine O'clock to-morrow Morning in Hyde Park, the Regiment will appear powdered and in Full dress, Cloaks rolled, Black Bradoons, and Black Flounces, with the Old Furniture ; Music in State Clothing.

Horses are to be well treated :—

November 4, 1799.

. . . It is most particularly ordered that the utmost gentleness be used to all Horses at all Times, and especially to the young Horses. Should any man ever be seen guilty of so unhorsemanlike an action as to misuse a Horse, or to terrify or disturb the young horses, he must instantly be confined to the Stable Guard.

A Rough Rider will be appointed to each Troop, who will have the charge of such part of the School's Furniture as may be appropriated to each Troop, and there will be an Orderly Rough Rider of the week to relieve on Sunday Morning, who is to have the charge of the Riding House, and the Remainder of its utensils. He is always to be in the way during the whole day, and to attend the parade of all mounted Duties that may occur, day or night.

Penal confinement is to be strict :—

January 8, 1800.

In future men confined to the Yard are to be strictly so, and during the whole of their confinement are on no pretence whatever to pass the gates ; their provision is to be brought to them and their names to be wrote up in the Guard Room and Orderly Room.

Divine Service at Quebec Chapel :—

January 11, 1800.

The whole Regiment will in future till further Orders attend Divine worship at Quebec Chapel on Sundays.

Officers are to inspect the men's quarters thoroughly :—

March 9, 1800.

The Officers visiting the Quarters are not only to speak to the Landlords but are to see the Men's rooms and to take notice whether their arms and Appointments are put up and kept in a soldierlike manner and handy for turning out at the shortest notice. The Officers are answerable that their men are always in readiness and must therefore consider the frequent visiting of their rooms whether in Barracks, Billets or Lodgings as an indispensable Duty.

The Regiment's cantonment is defined :—

April 8, 1800.

The Cantonment of the Regiment is bounded on the North by the New Road, on the West by Edgware Road, and on the South by Oxford Street and on the East by High Street, St. Mary-le-bone, and St. Mary-le-bone Lane.

Two Orders relate (1) to Lodging-money and (2) to Gambling :—

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LORD CATHCART'S ORDERS.

May 27, 1800.

His Majesty is most Graciously pleased to order that an allowance of Lodging-money, at the rates received from the Officers of the Line, shall be granted through the Barrack's Master-General to each Commission and Warrant Officer of any Regiment or detachment of the Life Guards, who, not being billeted, or provided with apartments in Barracks, shall by Order of the Colonel or Commanding Officer provide himself with lodgings within sound of Trumpet of the Head Quarters of the Regiment or Detachment to which he belongs.

June 15, 1801.

Corporal Church having been the First Corporal accused of permitting, or of not having done his utmost to prevent, gambling among the men, is pardoned on account of his good character and conduct on other occasions, and is restored to his duty and rank as Corporal.

CHAPTER LVI

A NUMBER of miscellaneous orders issued during the first twenty years of the 19th century are next to be given:—

Victualling arrangements are laid down:—

LIEUT.-GEN. LORD CATHCART'S ORDERS.

August 24, 1801.

Attention is called to the fact, that although the pay of a Soldier is supposed in addition to other things to cover the cost of such food as it is necessary for his health that he should have, yet owing to profuse and extravagant expenditure many soldiers are half-starving during half the week.

One shilling a day is in future to be stopped for the mens food, and differences are to be paid only on food actually consumed by the men. The proper feeding of the men is to be the particular care of Officers who will be held responsible for its sufficiency.

The following table shows how the shilling a day is to be spent:—

Bread, 1lb per day at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$	. . .	£0 0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Meat, 1lb @ $6\frac{1}{2}d.$	. . .	0 3 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Potatoes, $\frac{1}{4}lb$	. . .	0 0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Landlord, for cooking, &c	. . .	0 0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sundries	. . .	0 1 2
TOTAL		<u>£0 7 0</u>

Soldiers' Marriages "with leave":—

September 23, 1801.

The Officers commanding Troops are to make a complete enquiry into the Morals and way of life of the married men of the Troops in their families, which they are to do by the reports of the Corporals of their Troops, by visiting their lodgings themselves, and by enquiry in the Parish and neighbourhood; they are to see the Certificates of the Marriages and to report next Sunday such Men if any, as either return themselves married without being so in reality, or who do not conduct their Family in a manner creditable to the regiment.

The Men will not be absolutely restrained from Marriage if they

form respectable Connections, but if any man marries without the previous knowledge of the commanding Officer, so that enquiry may be made into the character of the woman he means to marry, he will be considered guilty of Disobedience of Orders, and will be obliged to lodge in the Barrack Room and to mess with his Troop. This Order will extend to any man who has made an improper marriage last month, as notice of it has been given of it in the Field and in orders.

Regulations as to the proceeds arising from the sale of disused clothing, &c. :—

December 1, 1802.

The Men will be settled with on the 24th of this month for the amount of the old Hats and Clothing which has been sold, after deducting the Expenses attending the Sale. To which will be added the Proceeds of the Lace of the Old Furniture sold in like manner.

All the men who were in the Regiment on the 31st of March, 1802, are to share, including those subsequently discharged. The Farriers and extra Music are to share ; but not the Trumpeters, who will have the velvet clothing in lieu when it is condemned.

The men will remember that to prevent the improper intercourse with Jews, and the plunder that has been made of Lace at different times, whenever it may be given to the men, it will be publicly sold for the whole and divided so that every man has an interest in preventing or detecting any theft or Embezzlement, should there ever be a man in the Regiment capable of the Crime.

Here follows a warning against consorting with men who have been expelled the Regiment, &c. :—

May 1, 1803.

. . . Few Regiments can boast of a more respectable or older Corps of non-commissioned Officers than this, and therefore the more necessary it is to degrade any Corporal whose Conduct might disgrace the rest. It is easy to find a successor. There is a Corps of Lance Corporals; many of whom are very fit for and deserving of promotion.

Any man who is seen or known to drink with, associate with or even speak to any man who may have at any time been turned out of this regiment will be considered as guilty of scandalous and disgraceful Behaviour and of disobedience of Orders; such men must at the least expect long confinement to the Yard, and to be denied any leave of absence or Furlough for Twelve months for every offence.

Any Corporal either guilty of this offence, or who may see or know of it in any man of the Regiment, and does not report it, will be reduced.

It is Criminal to know of a deserter and not apprehend him and swear him in, or report him to the Regiment so that he may be apprehended.

But the Regiment must feel the scandal that would belong to their going about like Bullies to assist Crimps or Substitute Hunters or to be concerned in taking up men they cannot swear to.

An example has been made of a Musician for a most daring outrage of this sort, taking his pistols out of his quarters without leave, loading it in a House, and threatening unarmed inhabitants more like a Foot Pad than a Soldier.

Such Conduct will always be most severely punished on the person of the principal Offender, and in that of those who may see it, and do not endeavour to prevent it.

“Loose” hair is forbidden:—

June 13, 1803.

No man to be suffered to appear with his hair loose on his shoulders at any time whatsoever.

June 14, 1803.

The Men's hair will be put under the Cap at the Morning and Evening Stables and at all times when undressed.

An Acting Field Officer is to be saluted:—

July 8, 1803.

Brevet-Major Calland, doing duty as a Field Officer in the Regiment, is to receive the Compliment due to a Field Officer from all Regimental Guards and Sentinels of the Regiment.

Concerning “coloured clothes” *i.e.* plain clothes:—

July 9, 1803.

The Men are never to appear in Coloured Clothes without leave. When they wish to wear Coloured Clothes on leave of absence, they are to make it part of their request, through the Corporal who applies for them.

Notification is made of General Buckley's assumption of the command:—

October 8, 1803.

Lieut.-General Lord Cathcart having received the King's Order to proceed to Ireland to take command of the forces in that Part of H.M.'s Dominions, all Regimental reports are to be made to, and all Regimental Orders are to be received from General Buckley, in such manner and through such Officers as he shall be pleased to direct.

Drinking Lord Cathcart's health:—

September 17, 1807.

In consequence of the Sensation of the Country, and the Regiment in particular, at the success of the British Forces at Copenhagen under

Lieut.-General Lord Cathcart,* the Commanding Officer has ordered Quarter-Master Mortlock to advance 18 guineas in order that the Men, in union with the whole country, may drink their Colonel, Lieutenant-General the Right Honourable Lord Cathcart's, Health.

The following War Office notice refers to rewards offered for the apprehension of deserters :—

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Notice.

War Office,

July 20, 1819.

Resolution of extraordinary reward for the apprehension of Deserters from the land Forces.

It being deemed expedient to reduce the extraordinary reward for the apprehension of Deserters from the land forces, this is to give notice that from the 25th Instant inclusive the sum of 20s. only instead of 40s. will be allowed for the apprehension of deserters. The above sum is distinct from and in addition to the ordinary reward of 20s. authorised by the Mutiny Act.

Numerous instances having occurred of collusion between supposed Deserters, and the persons by whom they are accused of desertion, Magistrates are requested not to give an order for the rewards above mentioned until apprized by this Office that there is no objection to the payment thereof.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

A Corporal Court-martialled :—

LIEUT-GENERAL EARL CATHCART'S ORDERS.

January 28, 1820.

The Court Martial of which Captain Ridout was President is dissolved, the proceedings and sentence approved, the prisoner reduced to a Private Sentinel but the Corporal punishment omitted in consequence of former character. It is to be observed by the Regiment and by the Corporals in particular that every part of the transaction which is the subject of this Court Martial shews the prisoner to be unfit for a situation so very respectable and confidential as that of a Corporal in the King's Life Guards. . . .

Regimental mourning for George III. :—

King Street, *February 3, 1820.*

. . . Till further Orders the King's Life Guard will mount in Jack Boots and Pantaloons. During the mourning Officers will wear Black Morocco Sword Slings of the same pattern with those worn with the Broad Sword, the Tassel being only covered over with Crepe. . . .

* He was this year created a Peer of the United Kingdom as Baron Greenock.

Concerning Officers' unpunctuality on parade :—

King Street Barracks, *March 13, 1820.*

Officers arriving late on parade or improperly dressed are not to take their places without first having reported themselves to the Commanding Officer, and asked permission to retire in the event of their having arrived improperly dressed. If permission to retire is granted, they are with all speed to make the necessary alteration and return and report themselves as ready for duty.

Any inconvenience that may have been caused by such absence is to be made good at a suitable occasion.

Arrangements for a route march :—

King Street, *July 19, 1820.*

The Regiment will march to-morrow to Richmond, Twickenham, and Isleworth, agreeable to route received. The Trumpet to Boot and Saddle will sound at Eight O'clock, and to Horse at Half Past.

The whole to march in Jack Boots, Best Jackets and Helmets ; Officers without Furniture.

The Troop will be stationed as follows :—

Richmond (Head Quarters)	Captain Upjohn's Troop
"	" Lord Barnard's Troop
"	" Wyndham's Troop
"	" Jarvis's Troop

Twickenham, Captain Barton's Troop

" " Evelyn's Troop

" " Ridout's Troop

Isleworth, Captain Milligan's Troop

Lieut.-Col. Dance will be stationed at Isleworth, and Lieut.-Col. Vyse at Twickenham.

The Regiment's high character is to be kept up :—

London, *8th August, 1820.*

. . . If they persevere in their good conduct in their loyalty to the King, whose Life Guards they have the honour to be, their steady Valour in action and their discipline in their quarters and Cantonments at Home and abroad, they will be second to no regiment in the world in general esteem and admiration.

They have an high character. It must be their Pride and Study to maintain it.

On the Annual Inspection and its lessons :—

King Street, *4th January, 1821.*

Lieut.-Col. Dance has every reason to be satisfied with the Appearance of Cleanliness and Regularity throughout the Regiment

at the Annual Inspection with the exception of the E Troop which was perfectly a disgrace to all the rest. He feels less surprised however at this difference when he finds that the Quarter Master is so shamefully inattentive to His Duty, and ignorant of everything belonging to the Troop, by which he not only does injustice to his Captain but encourages the negligence of the Corporals and the irregularity of the men. Quarter Master Hodgson may rely on it that his conduct will be closely observed and reported to the Colonel if not sensibly altered for the better.

Seven years' transportation is the sentence for a deserter :—

Hyde Park Barracks, *10th May*, 1830.

In compliance with the Brigade order of the 11th Ult. Private Thomas Musgrave has been delivered over to the Civil Power, and placed on board the *Justitia* Convict Ship in order to his being transported for the period of seven years for desertion, agreeably to the sentence of the General Court Martial held at Hyde Park Barracks on the 9th February last.

The Regiment marches to Brighton :—

Hyde Park Barracks, *27th July*, 1830.

Agreeable to a route received the Regiment will march to-morrow morning at Four o'clock for Brighton, and Chichester Barracks in four Divisions.

APPENDIX

THE *Royal Military Chronicle* for 1810 (p. 278), referring to the First and Second Life Guards, describes the strength of these Corps :—

There are five troops in each Regiment, each troop having one Captain, one Lieutenant, one Cornet, one Quarter Master, and three companies of Fifty Privates each, inclusive of the Trumpeter. The arms are firelocks with bayonets, pistol, and sabre. Their quarters provide for one Regiment at Knightsbridge, and there are two stables for 300 men in King Street, Portman Square. The picquet guard consists of one Subaltern, one Corporal, and 30 privates.

The frequent changes made in the uniform of the Household Cavalry were the subject of some rather clumsy and ungrammatical banter :—

(From the *Military Register*, January 28th, 1818, p. 128.)

LIFE GUARDS.

The following *jeu d'esprit* has appeared in a respectable morning paper; we copy it that we may obtain some explanation :—

“Those Gallant Corps, who, in the acknowledgement of the whole Military World, on the plain of Waterloo decided the fate of Europe, and of whom the Prince Regent has condescended to appoint himself Colonel-in-Chief: These Gallant Corps have had, we understand, had one allowance granted them lately, *viz.* that they are only to change their uniform four times a year.

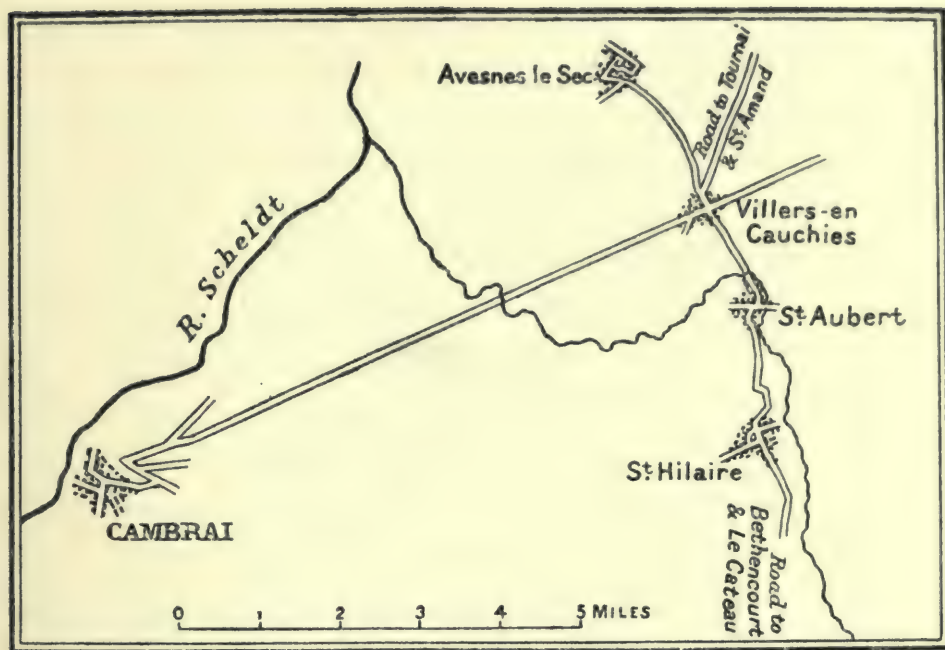
“This arrangement seems to give universal satisfaction, even to the trade itself, as the Royal Tailor has signified that, if more frequent changes took place, he should not think himself quite so sure of being paid. But the tailor being somewhat insensible to glory, and who likes cash better than credit, his opinion has been decisive on the occasion, and four times therefore only in the year these gallant Corps are to have an entire change which will be notified in Public Orders, that the Military World may know to what regiment they belong, lest, having seen them three months before in a uniform entirely different, they might mistake them for a different part of the army.” (*British Press.*)

CHAPTER LVII

NEITHER the Life Guards nor the Blues were on active service for many years preceding 1793, when the country entered upon the ten years' struggle with revolutionary France which lasted till 1803. In April, 1792, the Republican forces—like those of the Monarchy in former years—invaded the Austrian Netherlands, now known as Belgium. It was always, and is still, a cardinal principle of British policy that the Low Countries shall never be permitted to fall into the hands of a Power possibly hostile to England. Especially intolerable to every British Government would be the occupation of Antwerp by any great maritime Power. The French Republic, by invading Belgium and threatening Holland, threw down a challenge to England which was taken up the more readily owing to the outburst of British horror and indignation consequent on the murder of Louis Seize on January 21st, 1793; and France formally declared war against England in the following month.

It was decided to send the Duke of York over to Holland with a few troops. By a great effort on February 20th three battalions of the Guards were made up and despatched on the 25th. These were followed in March by three battalions of the Line, composed, however, of raw recruits. Circumstances then suggesting the despatch of a larger force to help Austria in invading France, some Hanoverians and Hessians were added to these troops, and also a division of 2,500 British cavalry,*

* 1793, November 21st. A circular was sent to all cavalry regiments, except the Blues, that, on account of the difficulty in



Stanford's Geogr. Estab.

VILLERS-EN-CAUCHIES (I).



Stanford's Geogr. Estab.

BETHENCOURT (2).

consisting of the Blues* and the First, Second, and Third Dragoon Guards, which formed the first brigade; of a second brigade, which reached Ostend on May 29th, and included the Royals, the Scots Greys, and the Inniskillings, under Mansel; and of a third brigade, consisting of the Seventh, Eleventh, and Fifteenth Dragoons (now Hussars), and the Sixteenth Dragoons (now Lancers).

The campaign of 1793 afforded the British cavalry little opportunity of winning distinction. Its time was to come in 1794, when it had been reinforced by the Fifth and Sixth Dragoon Guards and by the Eighth and Fourteenth Dragoons (now Hussars).

For the 1794 campaign the cavalry brigades were rearranged, Harcourt now commanding the First, Fifth, and Sixth Dragoon Guards (Carabineers); Mansel the Blues, Third Dragoon Guards, and Royals; Laurie the Second Dragoon Guards (Bays), Scots Greys, and Inniskillings; and Dundas the Seventh, Eleventh and Fifteenth Dragoons (now Hussars), and Sixteenth Dragoons (now Lancers). Such was the force engaged in the three memorable cavalry actions of Villers-en-Cauchies, Bethencourt, and Willems, which were preceded and prepared for by the great Imperial review held at Cateau on April 16th. This, though ostensibly a parade, was really a muster of the whole of the available troops.

The first of these brilliant cavalry successes was the exploit performed at Villers-en-Cauchies on April 24th, by the Fifteenth Light Dragoons and the Austrian Leopold Hussars, numbering together only 300 sabres. The British attacked in front, the Austrians on the enemy's left flank. The Fifteenth were charging the French

procuring young Gentlemen for Cornetcies, the King was pleased to reduce the existing regulation price to 700 Guineas. (*Commander-in-Chief's Letter-Book.*)

* For their Adjutant, John Elley, see APPENDIX.

cavalry when the latter wheeled outwards on either side, unmasking a line of French skirmishers and guns. In rear of the guns were massed about 3,000 infantry, formed in two squares side by side with the guns between them. Notwithstanding a tough resistance, the Fifteenth charged right through the battery and straight upon the bayonets. Their onrush was irresistible, the enemy bolted, and the Allied squadrons sabred the fugitives wholesale. This slaughter can be excused, if excuse be necessary, in view of the desperate odds—300 to 5,000—against which the victors were fighting.

Unfortunately, the gallant Fifteenth were robbed of the full fruits of their success by an inexplicable lack of the support expected from Mansel and his brigade, which consisted—as has been said—of the Royals, the Blues, and the Third Dragoon Guards. Having hopelessly clubbed his brigade, the commander of the support, by his blundering irresolution, brought the Third Dragoon Guards under a severe enfilading fire,* and threw the whole of the six squadrons into confusion, from which, however, the Royals quickly rallied and covered the retirement of the other two regiments.

The Duke of York in his despatch alludes to the *contretemps* as a “mistake,” having evidently had no opportunity of examining the officer in command:—

Cateau, 25 April, 1794.

Had they been properly supported, the entire destruction of the Enemy must have been the consequence, but by some mistake General Mansel's brigade did not arrive in time for that purpose—the Enemy however were obliged to retreat in great confusion into Cambray, with the loss of 1,200 men killed in the field, and 3 pieces of cannon.

The next evening the Commander-in-Chief was able to

* This regiment lost—killed, 38 men, 46 horses; wounded or missing, 9 men.

render a story of a complete and unqualified triumph. Flushed with the day's success, he wrote :—

Heights above Cateau, *April 26, 1794.*

It is from the field of battle that I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, for His Majesty's information, with the glorious success which the army under my command have had this day. At daybreak this morning, the enemy attacked me on all sides. After a short but severe conflict we succeeded in repulsing him with considerable slaughter. The enemy's General, Chapuy, is taken prisoner, and we are masters of 35 pieces of the enemy's cannon. The behaviour of the British Cavalry has been beyond all praise.

The vindication of the courage and capacity of Mansel and his brigade had been only a matter of forty-eight hours—the General himself meeting with a soldier's death at the victorious cavalry action usually known as Cateau, but more appropriately designated as Bethencourt.

April 26th must always stand as a red-letter day in the annals of the British horse. The Duke of York at Cateau was being threatened by two French columns from Cambrai under Chappuis. The Duke, making a feigned frontal attack with artillery, and sending a few light troops to engage the French right, secretly despatched all his cavalry against their left. The squadrons, led by Otto, numbered nineteen, and included six of Austrian Cuirassiers, Mansel's brigade, the First and Fifth Dragoon Guards, and the Sixteenth Lancers. They were formed unseen in a hollow near Bethencourt, and the advance was made with great caution, every fold in the ground being utilised for concealment. The last ridge surmounted, Otto saw 20,000 French infantry, with their guns, in order of battle, formed in two lines, their left resting on Andancourt, and their right on a farm called La Coquelet, and—most important point of all—facing eastwards and blissfully unconscious of the imminent danger threatening them from the north. The moment had come for a shock action, which, for skill and dash, as well as for historic interest, has

hardly a parallel in our military history. The trumpets sounded the charge; Schwarzenburg set the pace; the British cavalry were not in the temper to conform too nicely to regulations;* and, with the British cheer which had so disagreeably impressed the French at Dettingen, they swept down on the enemy's left flank—totally regardless of the furious fire of grape and musketry which was opened upon them. The attack, faultlessly designed, was admirably executed. In a few minutes the fate of the French was determined. The solid mass of infantry resolved itself into a formless mob of fugitives. A few of them made a stand at Montigny, where they fell in with part of Chappuis' second column coming from Ligny. Against this body Otto delivered Mansel's brigade, which rode at and through them with deadly effect.

The brigadier himself, with the unhappy blunder of forty-eight hours ago rankling in his mind, vowed he would never come back alive, and, dashing on ahead of his men, went down at once,† his place being taken by Colonel Vyse of the King's Dragoon Guards. Sir H. Calvert, A.D.C. to the Duke of York, wrote the same day, "The Duke directed a column of heavy cavalry consisting of the (Austrian) Zedwitsh Cuirassiers, the Blues, Royals, and First, Third, and Fifth Dragoon Guards, to turn the enemy, or endeavour to take them in flank, which service they performed in a style beyond all praise, charging repeatedly through the enemy's column, and taking 26 pieces of cannon. The [Sixteenth] Light Dragoons and Hussars took nine pieces on the left of the Duke's Camp." The losses of the Blues were:—Killed, Quarter-Master

* Lord Amherst (1779) had laid down that cavalry should always advance to the charge at a trot, and only break into a gallop when within 50 yards of the enemy.

† The exact circumstances of his death are unknown. Lord Combermere stated that he was found by his son, after the battle, lying in a ditch, stripped of all clothing, and with the throat cut.

Kipling, 15 troopers, 25 horses ; wounded, 4 corporals, 16 troopers, 17 horses ; missing, 8 horses.

General Chappuis was taken prisoner, giving up his sword to Major Tiddieman, Third Dragoon Guards, and in his pocket were found papers exhibiting Pichegru's design for investing the whole of Flanders.

Profiting by the information thus gained, the Duke attached the Bays, Greys, and Inniskillings to Laurie's brigade to operate towards St. Amand, whither in four days' time he followed them with his whole force. Landrecies surrendered on April 30th, and the Duke of York was then directed to march on at once to Tournai, which he reached on the 3rd.

On May 10th, exactly a fortnight after Bethencourt, was enacted the last in the trilogy of cavalry dramas, in which the British horse were again to demonstrate the stuff of which they were made. The regiments engaged were the Blues ; the Second, Third, and Sixth Dragoon Guards ; the First, Second, and Sixth Dragoons ; and the Seventh, Eleventh, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Light Dragoons. The French army, numbering 30,000, moved out immediately after dawn in two columns against the Duke of York's entrenched position at Tournai. The smaller body might have turned the left of the Duke's position at a village called Blandain but for the stout resistance of the Austrian regiment of Kaunitz, who had been ordered to occupy the wood of Bachy on the road from Orchies. The larger body, having carried the two advanced posts of Basieux and Camphin, formed on level ground and opened a fierce cannonade.

The English commander, quick to observe a gap in the enemy's line, ordered sixteen squadrons of British dragoons and two of Austrian hussars to advance by some low ground on the left of the Allied centre to gain the plain of Cysoning, and turn the enemy's right. Their line of

advance lay across fields of rape sown in ridges with very deep furrows between them. No less than nine distinct charges were made by the cavalry, the nature and rain-sodden condition of the ground being a cruel handicap. Many of the horses got tripped up and fell, their riders being in some cases killed or made prisoners. It was pathetic to observe how some riderless horses resumed their places in the ranks, and manœuvred with precision until they were snapped up by men whose horses had been shot. The advance, though slow, was steady. The cavalry turned Camphin, as ordered, and thus exposed their left to the fire of the batteries in front of Gruson. And though it was the difficult ground rather than the guns that checked the cavalry charges, yet the enemy's fire from a windmill on one side, and from a temporary battery on the other, did deadly work.

But the British horse were not to be denied. The French infantry column was gradually forced back, retreating from Camphin and crossing the high road in front of Basieux southwards towards the village of Willems. As they were gaining this spot, Dundas's brigade, reinforced by six more squadrons, broke in upon them and did great execution; the Carabineers delivering a brilliant charge against their French namesakes, who outnumbered them by four to one, and against whom they had a long-standing grudge for the capture of one of their standards thirty years previously.

The Blues were ordered to attack a body of French infantry passing between two plantations, but their heavy horses were so pumped that they could scarcely boil up a trot in the deep ground, and the Carabineers on their light Irish horses raced past them.*

* On the other hand, there is a W. O. record:—

“1796, July 5th. The Duke of Richmond was ordered to take over 60 horses from the Third Dragoon Guards too light-sized for heavy dragoons, but perfectly fit for the Blues.”

A final advance was now ordered against the enemy's infantry, who had formed themselves in three squares. An officer of the Greys, galloping out from his command, broke single-handed into the largest square, and made a gap for the entry of his men. This was the beginning of the end. All three squares were rushed by sheer weight and pace, and for the third time within three short weeks British sabres, unsupported—be it remembered—by a single battery of horse artillery, accounted gloriously for their arm of the Service. The French retreated across the Marque, with a loss of over 400 prisoners and 14 guns, their casualties amounting to nearly 2,000.

The losses of the Blues were:—Killed, 2 troopers; wounded, Cornet George Smith and 3 troopers; missing, 4 troopers.

No further brilliant cavalry actions distinguished the campaign. It were difficult to decide whether the severity of the ensuing winter or the *mala fides* of the Austrians contributed the more to the untoward termination of the operations in the Netherlands and the disastrous retreat of the British through Germany.* In the autumn of 1795 the army embarked for England, and in November the four troops of the Blues which had formed part of it were back again in their old quarters at Northampton.

* Early in 1795 General Conway, commanding the Blues, applied to the Adjutant-General, as the officers of the Blues were clamouring to be allowed to take a turn of duty in Flanders. The Adjutant-General replied that the detail of officers for foreign service must rest with General Conway and be entirely within his discretion, due regard being paid to seniority; and added that he had not heard of such disputes and difficulties in other regiments. (*Commander-in-Chief's Letter-Book.*)

APPENDIX

THE officer detailed to act as Adjutant to the Detachment of the Blues was Troop Quarter-Master John Elley, whose record of service is perhaps unique in the annals of the Army. Elley, who was born at Leeds, was, according to one statement, articled to a London solicitor, but was more probably apprenticed by his father, who kept an eating-house in Furnival's Inn, to Mr. Gelden, a well known tanner near Leeds. He enlisted when quite a youth in the Blues at Leeds on November 5th, 1789. He is said to have been for the first few months, like other young soldiers, dissatisfied with his profession and dissuaded from leaving it only by the earnest persuasions of the vicar of Hedley. His father also evidently assisted him by helping to buy a troop quartermastership in the Regiment the following year, and to purchase further each successive regimental step. Elley made his mark in Flanders; he highly distinguished himself both at Willems and Bethencourt, and on June 6th he was gazetted to a cornetcy. He was promoted lieutenant in 1796; five years later he obtained his troop; in 1804 he became major and in 1808 lieutenant-colonel of the Regiment. He was employed on special staff work in the south of England during the invasion scare at the beginning of the 19th century, and was Assistant-Adjutant-General of Cavalry in Spain in 1808-9, taking part in the fights of Salagan, Benevente, &c., and in the famous retreat to, and battle of, Corunna. He was employed in the same capacity in the Peninsula and south of France 1809-1814; he was

wounded at Salamanca, where he had two horses shot under him, and was specially noted by Wellington both at Vittoria and Toulouse. His tireless energy was as remarkable as his physical strength, his scientific skill and his dauntless bravery. There is an almost pathetic letter from him to Lord FitzRoy Somerset dated from Coimbra on the 7th February, 1813 :—

. . . It is the first time in my life that I have been prevented by ill-health from obeying an order. I have been forty days suffering from a most violent bilious attack. . . . I am extremely weak, and quite unequal to a ride of more than two leagues a day. I have a hot bath every other night, and take calomel daily.

I have not reported my ill-health to the D.A.G., finding that I could carry on the duties of the department so long as Cavalry Headquarters remain stationary.

Enclosed "State of Cavalry serving in Spain and Portugal." (*Duke of Wellington's Despatches.*)

He was Adjutant-General for Cavalry at Waterloo, and is known to have accounted personally for more than one French cuirassier. He was made K.C.B., promoted Major-General and Lieutenant-General, and finally represented Windsor as a staunch Peelite in 1835. His death occurred four years later, and he is buried in St. George's Chapel. Under his will two sums of money were left to buy mess plate for the Blues, and another sum to be distributed among decayed householders of Windsor. A contemporary sketch of his career alludes to his Regiment as "one of the first in Europe" :—

The extraordinary size and comeliness of the men, their discipline as soldiers, their orderly conduct in quarters as citizens, constitute them a bright pattern for a regular army. The men must produce testimonials on joining that prove their previous life to have been unimpeachable, and should any trooper so misconduct himself as to incur the disgrace of corporal punishment, he is dismissed with ignominy; what would be deemed a venial obliquity in any other corps is regarded in a very serious light in the Royal Horse Guards Blue. (*Military Panorama*, 1812.)

CHAPTER LVIII

LORD DOVER,* who three years earlier had succeeded Lord Lothian in the colonelcy of the First Life Guards, died in 1792. The King's appointment of Lord Harrington† to the vacant command came as an agreeable surprise.

An adulatory note of the time provides the puff preliminary:—

As an infantry officer, the Army in general knew his Lordship's splendid talents; but, as he was now called to a new mode of service, which he was probably only acquainted with from theory, his intimate friends were in some measure apprehensive lest he should not shine as he had formerly done. But their fears were groundless. It is evident from the improvement made in the appearance of the Life Guards, and the high state of discipline introduced by him, that he is capable of whatever H.M. may appoint him to, and it is likewise another proof of the King's great judgment which induced him to give Lord Harrington—with only the rank of colonel in the army, and not forty years old—the first regiment in the service. What a flattering mark of Royal attention, and how pleasing to his Lordship, his family and friends!

On July 9th, 1795, occurred the death of the soldier-statesman, Field-Marshal Conway, Colonel of the Blues.

* The hon. Joseph Yorke, K.B., son of the 1st earl of Hardwicke, was A.D.C. to the duke of Cumberland at Fontenoy, and later to George II.; col. 9th foot 1755, 8th dragoons '58, 5th dragoons '60; 11th dragoons '87; cr. baron Dover '88; col. 1st Life Guards '89; d. '92.

† Chas Stanhope, G.C.H., 3rd earl of Harrington, ensign Coldstream Gds. 1769; served in American war and distinguished himself on the plains of Abraham '76, A.D.C. to lt.-gen. Burgoyne '77, col. 85th foot and went to Jamaica '79. Returning to England was A.D.C. to Geo. III. '82, col. 65th foot and went to Ireland '83, col. 29th foot '88, col. 1st Life Guards '92; c.-in-c. in Ireland 1806; bore the great standard at cor. Geo. IV. '21; d. '29.

With the unseemly expedition then in vogue, the Duke of Richmond only six days later was gazetted to the vacant post.

An order of July 19th afforded the men of the Life Guards the welcome relief of a discontinuance of the objectionable custom of powdering the hair.

In 1799 the First Life Guards are described as consisting of very fine men of an average height of about six feet :—

No recruits are taken under 5 ft. 10 in. high ; they must be growing young men, and their pay being handsome no enlisting money is given. The uniform is scarlet faced with Blue, and Gold Lace. The Commanding Officers consist of a Colonel, one Lieut.-Colonel, one Supernumerary Lieut.-Colonel, one Major, 5 Captains, 6 Lieutenants, one Adjutant and Lieutenant, 5 Cornets and Sub-Lieutenants, and a Surgeon and Veterinary Surgeon. (*Military Library.*)

According to the same authority :—

In the Second Life Guards the average height is 5 ft. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in., and the horses stand 15 to 18 hands high, their colour being black and the tails long. The full pay of N.C.O.'s and men is :—Corporals, 2s. 8d., Privates, 2s. 1d.—without deduction. (*Military Library*, i. 150.)

Within the space of a few years some minor modifications were effected in the two regiments of Life Guards. In 1797 the pay of the corporals was raised to 2s. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ d., and that of the troopers to 1s. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per day. In September, 1799, a sixth troop was added to each regiment ; in November, 1803, the regimental establishment was increased by eight corporals and fifty-four troopers ; and in the ensuing June a Regimental Corporal-Major was appointed, and an addition made of thirty-seven troop-horses. In 1806 there was created a non-saleable adjutancy, the commission of “ lieutenant and adjutant ” being abolished.

In the autumn of 1795 popular discontent—fomented by the scarcity arising from the war—came to a head. On October 27th the King, while on his way to the House of

Lords, was within an ace of being assassinated by some miscreant who fired at him in his coach. His Majesty, who was happily uninjured, showed no sign of alarm, quietly remarking to the Lord Chancellor, "My Lord, I have been shot at!" On the return journey to St. James's the crowd pressed so close to the coach, that the King motioned to the Life Guards riding on either side to keep the mob off. Later, as His Majesty in a private coach was leaving St. James's for Buckingham House, and the Life Guards were no longer in attendance as escort, the mob threw stones at the coach, and its royal occupant was once more in serious danger. A gentleman of the Navy Office standing by was about to fire his pistol at one of the assailants, when it occurred to him to run and fetch the Life Guards, who at once responded to the call. A trooper lifted up his sword to cut down one of the offenders, when the King interposed. His calmness never forsook him. When a stone struck one of the glass windows, he only said, "That is a stone : you see the difference from a bullet!"

A part of the crowd cheered His Majesty for his coolness, while others cried "Bread, bread!" and "Peace, peace!" in so pugnacious a manner that the Life Guards had to disperse them.*

The association of the Blues with the Life Guards is amply illustrated by contemporary accounts of brigade field-days, the popularity of which must have sadly interfered with their utility:—

On September 16th, 1803, the King held at Wimbledon a review of the two Regiments of Life Guards, and the Oxford Blues, which were on the ground before nine o'clock, the Blues coming from Croydon, the First Life Guards from Knightsbridge, and the second from Portman barracks. Each Regiment, on reaching the common, drew up in close column, and dismounted. At ten, the hour appointed for His Majesty's

* Lord Colchester's *Diary*, i. 3 ; *Ann. Reg.*, 1796, p. 9.

arrival, the three Regiments formed into one line, the Blues taking their place in the middle, the First Regiment of Life Guards on the right, and the Second on the left. The line, formed along the south-east side of the common, facing the Thames, was nearly a mile in length; the number of men composing it being about 1,500.

The King having taken his station, the three Regiments passed him in squadrons, and afterwards in single file. They then re-formed into line, rode up nearly at a gallop to within a few yards of His Majesty, and finally wheeled round and dismounted. This movement was instantaneous, the men being every one on foot at the same moment. Having linked their horses, they advanced in front, forming a long line on foot, and marched to within a few yards of His Majesty, whom they passed twice on foot—first in column, afterwards in squadrons. They then returned to their horses, mounted, and continued till half-past two to perform a variety of evolutions.

The most noticeable were a retreat by *échelons*,* and a new mode of charging, by which one party runs over the enemy from the flank when the other has broken them in front. The charge in line had once a very formidable effect, though from the vast crowds on the ground, and the great extent of the line, it was impossible to observe that nice regularity in dressing which at other times is so strictly adhered to. A great part of the line was frequently obliged to fall back, and take its position in the rear; for otherwise numbers of the spectators must have been trampled to death.

The fine weather and the grandeur of the sight attracted an immense crowd from London and the neighbouring country. The road from Hyde Park Corner, as well as that on the Surrey side, was thronged with horsemen and carriages. The private carriages were generally open and filled with beautiful women, many of whom sat on the boxes, the gentlemen driving. The eagerness of curiosity induced the spectators who went in carriages to place them as near as they could, which, as they were not in general versed in military manœuvres, was a good deal too near. It was a very curious scene, when the

* Another account is more technical:—"The supposed enemy was on the side of Richmond Park. The line broke to the front by direct *échelons* of squadrons behind a directing squadron. On the supposed appearance of the enemy in the lanes leading by the ravines from the 'Bald-faced Stag' and Coombe, the *échelons* halted and wheeled to the left. The *échelons* to the left of the squadron of direction advanced and formed to their leading *échelon*, the *échelons* of the right wing moving up and forming on the left of the squadron of direction. The brigade was then in two lines, the second out-flanking the first by one squadron. The squadrons of the first line were then in their original order, the order of the second line being inverted."

regiments approached at full gallop, to see the coaches, chaises, barouches, landaus, landaulettes, and pedestrians galloping before them; and this occurred, not once alone, but as often as a general manœuvre was to be performed.

The whole assemblage was delighted with the spectacle. His Majesty was pleased to express to Lord Harrington, who gave the word of command as Colonel of the First Regiment of Life Guards,* the fullest satisfaction at the manner in which the three Regiments performed their evolutions.

One of the Life Guards unfortunately had his thigh broken by riding against the pole of a carriage, which could not get out of the way in time. Another fell with his horse in the charge, but was not hurt.

Occasions of this kind were numerous. At the many reviews held by the King and Prince Regent, the Life Guards almost invariably kept the ground, and many flattering remarks were passed on the patience and courtesy they exercised. In 1809, when Lord Harrington was reviewing the Bloomsbury Corps, one of the Life Guards' horses bolted through the crowd, upsetting everybody, broke an old woman's leg, and ended up in the Serpentine, the girths having just broken in time.

The Blues, who for several recent summers had encamped near Windsor, were in October, 1804, stationed at Windsor itself, where they were quartered till 1812. The King regarded the Regiment with great favour, ordered its uniform to be smartened up with gold lace and other ornaments, and on St. George's Day, 1805—before an installation of Knights of the Garter—presented it with a pair of silver kettledrums.† Shortly after seven o'clock in the morning, the Royal Horse Guards marched from their barracks opposite the great entrance to the Castle. The King then formally presented the kettledrums to

* "On this occasion," asserts another authority, "Lieutenant-General Cathcart gave the word of command, and was so well pleased with the performance of his regiment that he made them a present of Twenty guineas." Lieutenant-General Earl Cathcart was colonel of the Second Life Guards.

† *Ann. Reg.*, 1805, p. 380.

Colonel Dorian, who delivered a written address to thank His Majesty; and the band played "Britons, strike home!" The officers appointed to guard the King's person were Majors Elley and Miller, R.H.G. His Majesty used frequently to appear in the uniform of the Regiment, and to attend the regimental parades.

The vacancy in the command of the Blues created by the Duke of Richmond's death on December 29th, 1806, was filled the very next day by the bestowal of the colonelcy on Hugh, Duke of Northumberland, whose name was rendered memorable by his liberality and munificence towards the men of his Regiment.

The Royal Horse Guards (Blue) took a leading part in the State ceremonial observed on the occasion of the lying-in-state of Nelson* at Greenwich, at which the crush was so great that many persons were injured, the Blues being sent to help the Volunteers. The Regiment took a ceremonial part in the burial of the hero at St. Paul's Cathedral. At the funeral, later in the year, of Charles James Fox,† the Blues kept the streets.

In the Court of King's Bench on May 23rd, 1806, before Lord Ellenborough and a special jury, Michael Henry Lynch, Esq., a cornet in the Second Life Guards, brought an action against Alexis Thompson, Esq., and others—officers in the same Regiment—to recover damages for their having forced the plaintiff to resign his commission. The plaintiff had refused to accept a challenge from Captain Macnamara, in consequence of which his brother officers "sent him to Coventry," and he was obliged to sell his commission. The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, awarding him a thousand pounds damages.

In the year 1807 it happened that the Colonels of both

* *Ann. Reg.*, 1806, p. 354.

† *Ibid.*, p. 552.

Regiments of Life Guards, being actively employed on military duty at a distance from London, were unable to discharge the duty of Gold Stick, which was accordingly entrusted temporarily to Lieutenant - General Lord Heathfield.

It was an indication of the tendency to assimilate the status of the Royal Horse Guards with that of the Life Guards that in 1807 the Blues were instructed to draw their standards, as the Life Guards had been accustomed to draw theirs, from the department of the Lord Chamberlain.

In 1810 King George the Third completed the fiftieth year of his reign, and Bachelors' Sports were held at Windsor in honour of the Jubilee and of the Queen's birthday. An ox, "the gift of R. O. Fenwick, Esq., of the Blues," was roasted whole.

CHAPTER LIX

THE year 1810 was rendered memorable by graver events than those just described. Sir Francis Burdett, for the offence of bringing to light and warmly denouncing the hideous abuse of flogging in the Army, was on April 5th adjudged by the House of Commons guilty of a breach of privilege, and the Speaker issued his warrant for the offender's arrest. Sir Francis having notified his intention to resist the execution of the warrant until compelled by force, a large and disorderly crowd assembled outside his house in Piccadilly with the declared object of preventing his capture. Disregarding the representations of Sheriff Matthew Wood, the Government on April 7th called out the military to repress disorder. From the public prints of the time some noteworthy particulars may be gleaned.

Between twelve and one, a troop of Life Guards arrived and were drawn up before the house of Sir Francis, and their horses were made to prance about on the foot pavement as well as the street, for the purpose of dispersing the people. There was much hissing. In about a quarter of an hour Mr. Read, the magistrate, arrived. He mounted a dragoon horse, and read the Riot Act, and warned all people peaceably to depart. The Guards were then planted across Piccadilly, from Dover Street, on the one side, to Bolton Row, on the other, so as to block up the thoroughfare. Mr. Jones Burdett was not suffered to pass through the line to his dinner, until he procured a constable. During all this time Sir Francis was at home with his family.*

The crowd increasing in number, the situation soon became grave enough to justify the elaborate precautions taken for the preservation of public order. We read that "Orders had been transmitted from the War Office in

* *Ann. Reg.*, 1810, p. 349.

every direction, ordering every regiment within 100 miles of London to march to the metropolis forthwith."

On the 9th the Serjeant-at-Arms, with a posse of constables, made a forcible entrance to Sir Francis Burdett's house and effected his arrest in the drawing-room. The *mise-en-scène* was well managed:—Enter the dastard minions of the law; their blameless victim is discovered in a patriotic attitude, "engaged in hearing his son read Magna Charta." Tableau! The next step was his conveyance to the Tower:—

The procession moved from Sir Francis Burdett's house in the following order:—Two squadrons of the 15th Light Dragoons; then two troops of Life Guards, with Mr. Read, the Magistrate, at their head; next, the coach with Sir Francis; then two more troops of Life Guards, a troop of the 15th Light Dragoons, and a party of the 15th Light Dragoons forming the rear.

The Foot Guards broke off at Albemarle Street, proceeding thence direct to the Tower. The coach was taken by a roundabout route through Oxford Street, Great Portland Street, the New Road, and Islington.

After a stormy progress eastwards through the London streets, the cavalcade neared its destination:—

At a quarter past twelve there arrived about Twenty Horse Guards, who rode up towards the Tower gates. At the distance of one hundred yards came about three hundred of the 15th Light Dragoons, then about two hundred of the Horse Guards, having in the middle of them the coach containing Sir Francis Burdett.

Another account adds:—

This state of things remained for full half-an-hour, the carriage covered by about two hundred Horse Guards, the line of Foot Guards stretching from it up Tower Hill, the 15th Light Dragoons lining the sides of Tower Hill to keep off the mob, which began to disperse.

The prisoner having been safely delivered into the custody of the Tower authorities, the military escort had to make its return through hostile crowds:—

The populace remained quieter after the Baronet went into the Tower, but when the orders were given for the cavalry to return, they were again influenced by a most determined spirit of opposition. When the body of the cavalry were turned, the populace followed them with

groans and hisses. Mr. Holdsworth, the City Marshall, appeared and requested the officers commanding the troops to conduct them on their return along London Bridge, so that the peace of the City might not be disturbed. His request was complied with, and Mr. Holdsworth went before with the intention of preserving order.

The Guards then proceeded towards Crutched Friars, amidst the loudest uproar. Several boys at the same time pelted them with mud and bricks, which induced the rear of the Guards to fire. The alarm then became general, and the troops fired incessantly. Two men were shot at Coopers Row, on Tower Hill. The passage through Crutched-Friars, Fenchurch Street, and Gracechurch Street, was a continued scene of confusion and alarm.

It was inevitable that inoffensive bystanders should suffer :—

An old man employed at a building in Tower Street, was shot standing by the door of Mr Evans, ironmonger, at the corner of John Street. Several other persons, it is said, were shot, and among them a woman. One unfortunate man, who had received a ball through the throat, endeavoured to get admittance at a spirit-shop, but the door was shut against him, which so exasperated the populace, that they forced the door open and broke all the windows.

The cavalry continued to load and fire, and at the corner of Mark Lane several persons were wounded with sabres and pistols. One man had his ear cut off, another received a ball in his breast, and a third was shot through the wrist. The balls passed through the windows of several tradesmen in the streets already enumerated. A young man, said to be a fellowship porter, being pressed hard by the multitude, sought shelter in the shop of Mr Goodeve, boot and shoemaker, the corner of Mincing Lane, where he received a shot through the left breast, and by falling a severe contusion on the back of his head. He was afterwards taken in a chair to St. Thomas's Hospital, and the Surgeon told those who had brought him into the ward, that he could not live two hours. He died in the course of the day.* Many wounded persons were carried in coaches to different hospitals.†

* A coroner's inquest being held on his body, the jury returned a verdict of "wilful murder" against a Lifeguardsman unknown. The tomb of the deceased was afterwards inscribed with the following epitaph :—

"Sacred to the Memory of Thomas Ebrall, who was Shot by a Life Guardsman the 9th of April 1810, in the Shop of Mr. Goodeve, Fenchurch Street. 'Thus saith the Lord God, My Right Hand shall not spare the Sinners, and My Sword shall not cease over them that shed Innocent Blood upon the Earth.'"

† A Lifeguardsman was shot through the cheek by one of the mob. (*Ann. Reg.*, 1810, p. 257.)

The City did not regard these events with indifference:—

The Lord Mayor held a special Court of Aldermen, to take into consideration the transactions, which had taken place in the City. The Recorder and several aldermen, who had opened the London Sessions at Guildhall, were compelled to adjourn the Court for a short time, in order to be present at the discussion. While they were deliberating, the City Marshall arrived, followed by the populace, who cheered him for preventing the troops from passing through the City. In every quarter of the City the inhabitants expressed their surprise that the military had been suffered to fire in the City without the permission of the Lord Mayor.

The citizens both of London and of Westminster felt themselves aggrieved:—

One of the shots discharged by the Light Horse, broke the window of the first floor of a cheesemonger's house, the corner of Rood Lane, Fenchurch Street, and lodged in the wainscot.

Lord Moira left the Tower about half-past three, and was cheered by the populace as he returned to the West end of the town. Lady Burdett and her son arrived after two o'clock, and were admitted to Sir Francis.

A meeting of the Bailiwick of Westminster took place yesterday at the Gloucester Coffee House, in order that the forcible arrest of Sir Francis might be taken into account. The Sheriffs were to have attended, but were detained by the tragical events which had taken place in the city.

Colonel Wardle, Mr Bosville, and Mr Clifford attended.

Sir Francis Burdett ultimately sought a legal remedy against the House of Commons, in the person of its Speaker. The following extract from the judgment given by Sir James Mansfield, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in the case of "Sir F. Burdett *versus* the Right Honourable C. Abbot, Speaker of the House of Commons," lays down the legal obligations of the military in the suppression of crime:—

Since much has been said about soldiers, I will correct a strangely mistaken notion which has got abroad—that, because men are soldiers, they cease to be citizens. A soldier is just as much bound to prevent a breach of the peace, or a felony, as any other citizen.

In 1780 this mistake prevailed to an alarming extent. Soldiers, with arms in their hands, stood by and saw felonies committed; houses being

burnt and pulled down before their eyes by persons whom they might legally have put to death, if they could not otherwise prevent it—without interfering; some because they had no commanding officer to give them the command, and some because there was no justice of the peace with them.

It is the more extraordinary, because formerly the *posse comitatus*, which was the strength to prevent felonies, must in a great proportion have consisted of military tenants who held their land by military tenure. If it is necessary, for the purpose of preventing mischief, or for the execution of the laws, it is not only the right of soldiers, but it is their duty, to exert themselves in the assisting of a legal process, or to prevent any crime or mischief being committed.

It is therefore highly important that the mistake should be corrected, which supposes that an Englishman, by taking upon himself the additional character of a soldier, puts off any of the rights and duties of an Englishman. (Taunton's *Reports*, Common Pleas, Vol. IV., p. 449.)

The military, to whom had been assigned the unpleasant task of restoring order, had but discharged their duty. The Life Guards obtained the express approval of the King and the thanks of the authorities for their combined promptitude, firmness, and forbearance in handling the crowds.

The growing share assigned to the Blues in the discharge of Court duties was illustrated by the arrangements made at the funeral of the Princess Amelia. The hearse and the principal carriage were escorted by the Blues, and the procession was also flanked by other troopers of the Regiment, every fourth man of whom carried a flambeau.*

The year 1811 witnessed the distressing necessity for the appointment of a Regency. The Prince of Wales, as Prince Regent, received full regal honours in respect of escorts. On the 10th and 14th of June he held reviews of the Life Guards and other troops at Wimbledon.

On the 19th of the month the Prince gave a grand party at Carlton House, at which the Blues, while

* *Ann. Reg.*, 1810, p. 258.

keeping the street, were swept away for several paces by the great crowd which had assembled. The disorder frightened the horses, and the animals, rearing, unfortunately trampled on some of the people. Meanwhile the First Life Guards furnished the mounted escorts, while the Second Life Guards were posted within doors to furnish sentries in the banqueting-rooms, as well as in the gardens.

In the first year of the Regency there was accorded to Roman Catholic soldiers by formal legislation entire freedom of worship, which previously had, under the Grenville Ministry, been conceded by circular only.

On the occasion of the Parliamentary Session of 1812 being opened by the Prince Regent, the escort was supplied by the Royal Horse Guards. For the first time the celebrated cream-coloured horses were attached to the State coach. The dignity of the ceremonial procession was somewhat marred, however, by one of the coach wheels becoming detached.

In the same year there occurred disturbances in the manufacturing districts, serious outrages being perpetrated for the destruction of machinery by poor workers thrown out of occupation through its introduction. The Blues were sent to Lancashire in May, and made their headquarters at Warrington till the autumn.

The need of adequate housing accommodation for the Household Cavalry led in 1812 to a proposal to build the Regents Park Barracks for the use of the Second Life Guards, at a cost of £138,000. The matter had become urgent on account of the expiry of the lease of the rented barracks in Portman Street. The subject being keenly debated in the House of Commons, Mr. Huskisson expressed his dissatisfaction with the scheme and his apprehension lest it should be the occasion for making "some attempt at splendour and awkward magnificence"

productive of "something between a palace and a stable." If such be a correct description of the building, its place would appear to be much nearer the "stable" end of the scale than the other. It may, indeed, be doubted whether the palatial splendours of the Regents Park Barracks have ever received their due meed of recognition. The general verdict during these hundred years has perversely been to the effect that among all the mean, dismal, poky, dreary, forsaken places of residence assigned to soldiers anywhere, the Regents Park Barracks, in respect of each of these qualities, must be awarded an easy and undisputed supremacy.

However—good Mr. Huskisson notwithstanding—the Select Committee appointed to examine the scheme reported favourably on it on April 14th. On May 1st the subject was once more debated on high constitutional grounds, Sir Francis Burdett improving the occasion by denouncing what he termed "the military murders" of the year 1810; while Mr. Fremantle waxed eloquent on the theme of the people's feelings being "grated" by the establishment of "a Prætorian camp in London"! Parliament, unmoved by these grim and grisly forecasts, approved the proposal on June 17th, at the instance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Pilot, in May, 1812, thus commented on the proposal to build the Regents Park Barracks:—

We have frequently of late had occasion to express our sentiments on the subject of Barracks, and in a constitutional point of view we cannot cease to regard them otherwise than with an eye of jealousy, considering them capable of being, if not altogether likely to be, converted into so many fortresses of the Crown, formidable to the freedom of the people.

The new Barracks for the Life Guards in Mary-le-Bone have been particularly objected to, on the grounds of the expence with which the Buildings will be attended. It is certainly essential to the peace of this great capital, liable at all times to dangerous eruptions of tumult (although the instances of such excesses are rare), to have some corps

of this description stationed in the principal districts ; and it might have been better if the lease of the old Barracks in Portman Street had been extended, instead of creating a necessity for a new Barrack. . . .

All these considerations, however, are apart from the details of the plan of the proposed Barracks in the New Park, but were—we suppose—considered when the vote for the erection was carried in the House of Commons by a small majority, created largely by the outrageous doctrines of Sir F. Burdett on the other side. . . .

We have nothing further to add except to notice the malignity with which a paper—rendered irreconcilably hostile to the Duke of York by a series of gross injuries on its part, and magnanimity on his—strives to fasten on him the unpopularity attached to the erection of these expensive Barracks, as if he, the Commander-in-Chief, had forced the Minister into this measure ! Now it so happens, the Commander-in-Chief has very little to do with the building of Barracks—merely to give the formal sanction of his name in certain stages ; and even this is not done in the case of the Life Guards, who are regarded as Household Troops of the Crown, and left out of the general arrangement and control of the Army.

Whatever view may nowadays be justifiably held on the subject of prize-fighting, public opinion a century ago was decidedly favourable to an institution which the men of that time recognised as a manly and noble sport. Among the most noted of British pugilists was a Life Guardsman named Thomas Shaw. One of the earliest notices of him occurs in *The Military Magazine* (Vol. II., p. 426), under the date of November, 1811 :—

There are several pugilistic matches on the *tapis*, and the one that excites greater interest than any other is that between the scientific Belcher and Powers, which will be made for 400 guineas.

It having been reported that a Life Guard Man of equal strength is in training for him the following is Molineaux's challenge to him :—

TO THE MILLING LIFE GUARDSMAN.

As my late unsuccessful combat has set the knowing ones afloat to find another big man to mill me, and having just got flash enough to know some of the phrases, by which I understand that you are the man I am next to contend with, I hereby challenge to fight you for 300 guineas and as much as your friends think proper, any time betwixt this and Christmas, 100 guineas deposit, after which I hope to be otherwise engaged. I send this challenge to you ; but I will fight any other man in the world, barring Cribb, on the same terms within the stated time.

The fearless THOS. MOLINEAUX.

The Commanding Officer of the Regiment has refused, we understand, to allow the Life Guardsman to enter the Arena.

The Commanding Officer, being human, did not permanently oppose Shaw's desire to bring honour to himself and his Regiment by his prowess in the Ring, as a record of the following year will show :—

1812. A desperate battle was fought on the eighteenth between Shaw the Life Guardsman and Burrow, at Coombe Wood—thirteen rounds in seventeen minutes. The Guardsman by "Fives' Court" Sparring has become quite a scientific man: he fights with great temperance, not to say jollity, and from height, weight, and strength will be very formidable. He beat his fourteen stone man in seventeen minutes, till he could not see his way out of the ring.

Another writer observes :—

Shaw was very scientific and adopted the course of retreating and hitting, so successfully practised by Cribb. He may be a bad in-fighter, but he is a long left-handed hitter. He fights with great good temper. (*Mil. Mag.*, iii. 39.)

It is pleasant to note that "the Milling Lifeguardsman" was a genuine patriot :—

Shaw was a native of Westmoreland. From his infancy he had a great pleasure in fighting, and few were his equals. After his arrival in the Metropolis, he was initiated in the duties of a Life Guardsman, and several Officers remarked how quickly he arrived at perfection, His figure was remarkably grand, his eye penetrating, his countenance majestic; and, possessing every requisite of a good soldier, in short he would not have been unworthy of the attention of the great King of Prussia's father, being upwards of six feet three in height.

A short period after his arrival in London, he was introduced to Cribb, Belcher, Cropley, etc., and under the last professional here named he learnt the noble science of British Pugilism, in which he acquired great renown, having fought six prize-fights and lost but one. Captain Barclay was pleased to observe that "he was the best game and bottom man he knew," and as to his science and courage, they were as good as Cribb's and Belcher's.

He fought a battle about seven or eight weeks ago for fifty guineas with Painter, and completely beat him out. A friend went up to him after the contest and said "Shaw, I was much gratified with your set-to: I will match you against — for one hundred guineas," who instantly replied, "I should have been proud to have entered the lists against him, but I find I am to be called upon shortly by my King and

Country. I hope, Sir, you will hear that I fought nobly, and, if I die, I consider it an honour to fall in their cause. However, if I am well, I will mill him on my return."

These noble sentiments, so worthy of a Westmoreland hero, produced a responsive vibration in the mind of my worthy friend, who instantly presented him with Ten Pounds. But, alas, poor fellow, he fell in a splendid battle, though not before he had confirmed his remark; as it is stated in all the papers "He killed the French by wholesale," and terminated his glorious career, like the intrepid Carthaginian, without a groan.

CHAPTER LX

BOTH the Life Guards and the Blues were now about to see foreign service under the greatest of all British military commanders. Cavalry reinforcements being required for Wellington's army in the Peninsula, it was decided to send out two squadrons each of the three Regiments. On Monday, September 7th, 1812, the Earl of Harrington in Hyde Park Barracks inspected the detachment of the First Life Guards ordered for foreign service. His address, received with the utmost enthusiasm—the men throwing up their hats and cheering—was couched in very stirring terms :—

SOLDIERS,

I heard with the most heartfelt satisfaction the manner in which the Regiment received their orders for foreign service, though it was no more indeed than I had reason to look for from men whose character the experience of twenty years—during which period I have had the honour to command you—had taught me to value and respect.

Wherever you go my best wishes attend you. The task you have to perform is not a mean one. The expectations of your Country are very high ; but your conduct, I am well assured, will amply keep pace with them, the fame you are about to acquire, and the additional splendour you are about to confer on the glorious achievements of the British Army on the Continent, I anticipate with Exultation. (*The Military Magazine*, iv. 201.)

In view of their coming despatch upon active service, it was ordered that each of the Regiments of Life Guards should be augmented from eight troops to ten and the Regiment of Horse Guards from six troops to eight. As regards the Blues, their Colonel, the Duke of Northumberland, made a twofold demand—claiming (1), on his own

behalf, the right to appoint the officers of the two new Troops; and (2), on behalf of his Regiment, the right of its officers to be promoted within the Regiment, without the introduction into it of officers from other corps to rank for seniority over them. The controversy between the Colonel of the Blues and the Commander-in-Chief—who denied the alleged right in each case—began in the autumn of 1812, and was terminated only by the Duke of Northumberland's resignation of his colonelcy of the Blues, in which post he was succeeded on January 1st, 1813, by the Marquess of Wellington, who had already been for some years in supreme command of the Army in the field.

The weighty letter here subjoined, which the Commander-in-Chief addressed to the Duke of Northumberland, was written with the object of justifying the decision of the authorities on the question of the privileges claimed for the Blues. Incidentally, however, it has another and perhaps greater importance, in so far as it compares the procedure followed in the Blues with respect to commissions with that customary in the Life Guards, and clearly indicates the limitations of the Blues' privileges in this respect :—

THE DUKE OF YORK TO THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

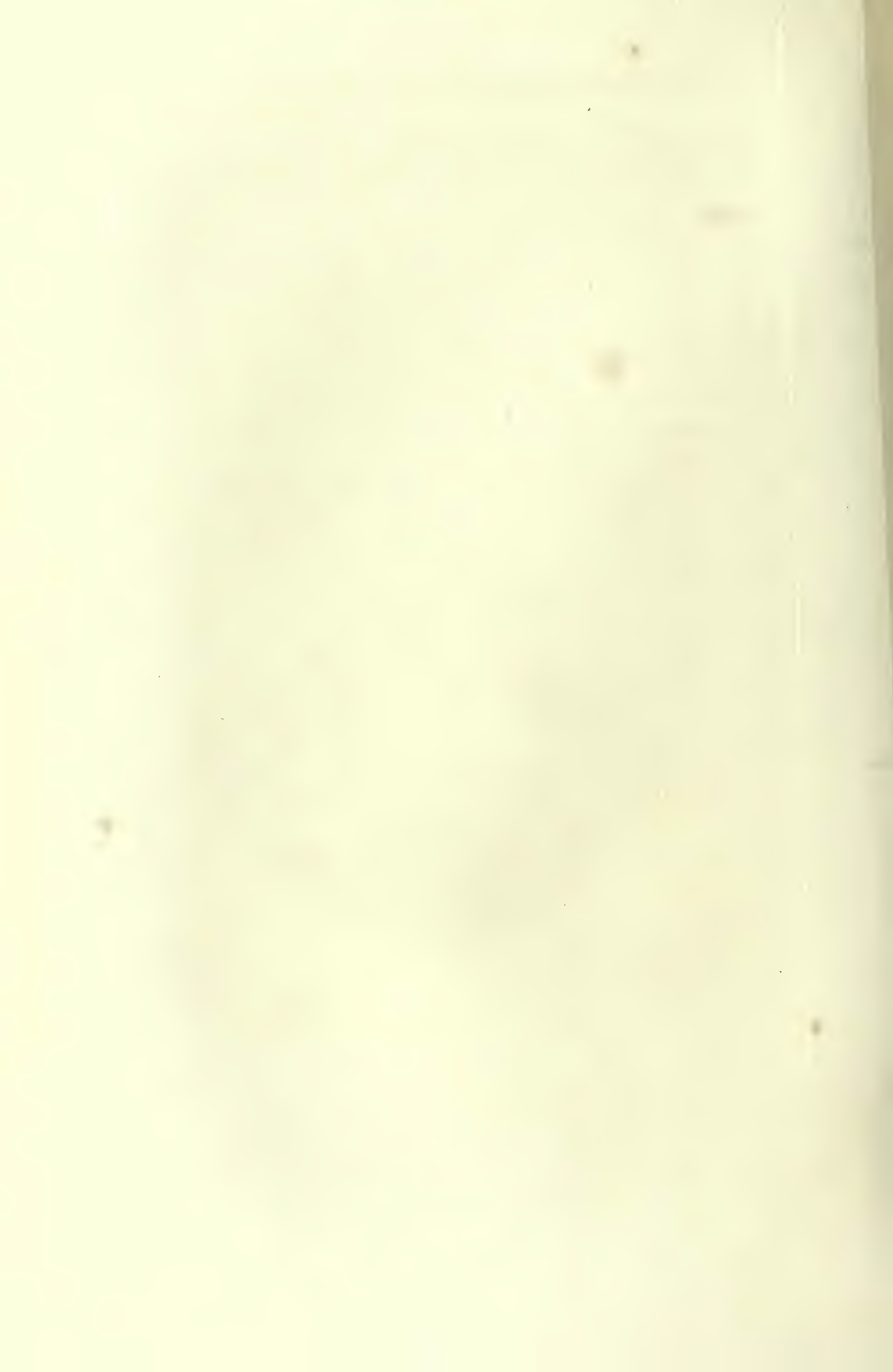
Oatlands, 25 Oct. 1812.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

The Prince Regent having communicated to me a letter, which Colonel McMahon has received from your Grace, on the subject of the promotions which have taken place in the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards in consequence of the augmentation, it is with extreme concern, as well as surprize, that I learn the light in which your Grace has viewed them. I can assure your Grace that nothing can be further from my disposition or intention than to adopt any measure which could bear a construction inconsistent with that respect and personal regard which I have ever entertained towards your Grace, both in your military and private capacity, or which could be construed into any slur or injustice to the distinguished and respectable Corps of which you are Colonel.



The Duke of Wellington.



Having the honour myself to command a Regiment of Guards, I am fully sensible of the anxiety which your Grace must feel for the preservation of their just Privileges, and I can safely say that I am the last person who would attempt to deprive any Corps of them. But, during the many years that I have been in His Majesty's service, and in the course of the whole time that I have been in the Chief Command of the Army, I never heard of any such privilege claimed by any British Corps until Sir Robert Hill* mentioned the subject to Colonel Torrens.†

Upon the claim being intimated to me, I desired Colonel Torrens to acquaint Sir Robert Hill that I had never conceived the Corps to possess such a privilege, and that, unless documents in support of its existence were adduced, I could not depart, in favour of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, from the common rules of the service. I mention this in order to convince your Grace that, when Captain Murray and Mr. Magennis were recommended for their respective commissions, no idea was entertained that any unusual procedure was adopted, and I hope that your Grace will be assured that, in contending against any assumed privilege on the part of your Regiment, I am alone acting in support of what I consider due to the situation I fill, and that I can never be actuated by any other feeling than that of personal regard towards your Grace.

In looking back to the History of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards since its original formation, I confidently believe that no grounds will be found upon which that Corps can assert privileges unknown to any other of His Majesty's regiments of Guards, and your Grace must be aware that even the Life Guards, who are possessed of the highest and most peculiar privileges, have ever been accustomed to have Officers brought or promoted from other regiments into them according to the discretion of the Sovereign.

The Life Guards possess the right at all times of laying all successions before the King through their own Colonels—a privilege which equally belongs to the Foot Guards, whenever there is no Commander-in-Chief bearing His Majesty's commission as such; when there is, the Foot Guards fall under the same rules as the rest of the army. But at no time did the Blues possess this right, and, when there is no Commander-in-Chief, the successions to the commissions in the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards are always submitted to His Majesty through the Secretary at War. This striking difference shows at once the impossibility of any such privilege as is now claimed ever having existed.

The superior pay of the Blues holds out an inducement to those who enter into that Regiment to remain in it without looking forwards to

* Lieutenant Colonel in command of the Blues.

† Military Secretary to the C.-in-C.

Exchanges or promotions into other Regiments, which would more readily follow an equality of pay, and which of course occasions a slowness in the promotions of its officers which, in general, places them at the head of their respective ranks, and therefore renders less common the introduction of Officers from other Corps; and hence may have originated the error that an exclusive right of succession appertained to the officers of the Blues.

But there are precedents to prove the fact, as I have stated it to your Grace. Among the rest, the late General Johnston,* who, having been reduced as Major in the Life Guards in 1748, was brought into the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards as Major in the year 1750. And in regard to the recommendations of Commissions having been ever considered as existing in the Colonel, I myself when commanding in Flanders in 1793 and '94—and not then in command of the whole army, and having only a part of the Blues under my command—recommended the present Lieutenant Colonel Elley on account of his distinguished conduct in the field, to his Cornetcy; as also Mr. Cumberland, upon another Vacancy, at the private and particular recommendation of the late Duke of Portland.

When such appointments took place I never heard of any privilege having been brought forward against them, or any objection made to them; and, whatever memorial may have been given in upon the exchange of Captain Harcourt, I am well assured that Major-General Dorien has been mistaken in the information he appears to have communicated to your Grace—that a pledge was given against the occurrence of a similar measure, as it would have militated against the very appointments I had made.

From the foregoing statement I trust your Grace will see that both Promotions and Appointments have taken place at former periods, and that therefore no disrespect could have been intended to you in the adoption of what was looked upon as a matter of course.

I have further to assure your Grace that in arranging the augmentation and subsequent promotion, no hurry was observed or intended. The augmentation was submitted to the Prince at the latter end of August, soon after the measure of sending the Brigade of Life and Horse Guards upon Service was determined upon. By some mistake or accident it was not immediately notified to the different Regiments by the War Office. But it was so perfectly well known to the respective Corps, that they each took immediate measures to secure their augmentation of horses.

As the official notification was thus delayed until nearly the departure of the Corps, it became necessary to Gazette the promotions immediately, in order that the arrangements might be complete previous to the embarkation; though on similar cases of augmentation it has never been usual to await the form of recommendation from a Colonel when

* See CHAPTERS XLVII., p. 453, and LXI., pp. 551-3.

it is known that the Officer next in succession is deserving. Lieutenant and Adjutant Taylor's promotion, therefore, took place as a matter of course; and as Lieutenant Jebb, who is next to him in the Regiment, is a Lieutenant only of 1809, he appeared not to possess any claim in point of standing in the army; and therefore it was thought a fair opportunity to relieve the Public of a Half-Pay by the appointment of Captain Murray to the second Troop.

Having thus entered fully into the subject, I have to hope that the explanation will appear satisfactory to your Grace, and that you will be assured that no disrespect could possibly be intended to you, and that I shall ever derive pleasure in conforming to your wishes, as far as the Duty I owe to His Majesty's service.

Believe me, Ever

My Dear Lord Duke,

Yours most sincerely,

FREDERICK.

(*Apsley House Papers.*)

The historic facts are clearly on the side of the Commander-in-Chief, who writes with equal ability and temper. But the controversy did not end here, as it very well might have done. A fight to the finish between these two highly placed personages was to ensue, the result of which could scarcely have been for a moment in doubt.

CHAPTER LXI

THE Duke of York's exposition of his views did not convince his Grace of Northumberland, and the subject was thoroughly threshed out.

The ensuing "Statement" and the "Observations" made upon it were drawn up in support of the Duke of Northumberland's contention.

The accompanying comments—enclosed in square brackets—deal with each point in succession, and constitute the rejoinder of the Duke of York.

STATEMENT.

Relative to the different appointments which can in any way be supposed to have been the appointments of officers from other Regiments into the Blues, from the earliest periods to which any official documents reach.

1708, *June* 1. Captain George Walker, to be Captain—to bear date 1705-6.

1711, *March* 22. Andrew Percival, Esq., to be Captain of the troop whereof Captain Bray—now made Lieutenant Colonel to the Marquis of Hardewicke's Regiment—was Captain.

1712, *January* 31. Greenhill Woodyer, Esquire, to be Captain in the room of Lieutenant Colonel John Rouchat.

1712, *March* 3. Captain Rupert Brown to be Captain of the Troop whereof M. S. Wroth was late Captain.

1712, *November* 19. Mr. James Hawkins to be Captain *vice* Blackwell resigned.

1717, *May* 14. Cornet Carey to be Captain *vice* Hawkins.

1717, *July* 3. Colonel George Fielding to be Captain *vice* Marsham deceased.

1722, *September* 5. The Earl of March to be Captain *vice* Carey deceased.

1728, *March* 11. Lord George Beauclerk to be Captain *vice* Lord William Beauclerk.

[The instances here brought forward show that four Officers bearing the rank of

Captain and five Gentlemen from Civil Life, were at various periods appointed to Troops in the Royal Horse Guards. Although it is not stated from what Corps the former were removed, yet it may be presumed from the rank they held that they were transferred from Troops or Companies in other Regiments, and therefore such precedents shew of themselves that no right of Regimental Succession was acknowledged to exist in the Regiment; and the introduction of gentlemen from Civil Life shews that no consideration whatever was given to the Military claims of the Officers of the Blues.]

1728, *December* 12. Lieutenant John Lloyd, from Sabine's Regiment *vice* Caldwell put upon half-pay.

[This is a direct precedent in support of the late promotion given out of the Regiment.]

1734, *April* 30. Captain James Madden *vice* Lord Nassau Pawlett.

[It may be presumed that this is also the removal of a Captain from another Corps.]

1734, *May* 7. Ensign Theodore Hoste, from the Third Foot Guards to be Lieutenant *vice* R. Cooke.

[Another direct precedent against the present pretensions of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards.]

1750, *November* 21. Major James Johnston, from half-pay of the late Fourth Troop of Horse Guards to be Major in the room of Major Sir James Chamberlain preferred.

[Ditto, already mentioned by the Duke of York to the Duke of Northumberland.]

1755, *April* 24. D'Arcy Hepden or Hebden, from half-pay of the Fourth Troop of Horse Guards to be Captain *vice* Miget deceased. N.B.—This last is only from an old Army List of 1755.

[Another precedent against the pretensions of the Blues.]

1812, *October* 6. The Hon. Charles Murray, from the half-pay of the 28th Light Dragoons, to be Captain.

[Ditto.]

1812, *October*. Henry Arthur Maginnis, Gentleman, to be Cornet.

[Appointed through the Commander-in-Chief's recommendation, in the same manner as Cornets Elley and Cumberland in 1793-4, and Cornet Parker had been in 1805.]

The ducal Colonel of the Blues, having marshalled his facts, proceeds to draw his inferences, in the shape of the following "Observations"; the royal Commander-in-Chief continuing to append running comments, as before :—

OBSERVATIONS.

The entries in the War Office Books previous to the end of 1728 appear to be so irregularly stated as not to make it possible to distinguish the officers who were promoted in the Regiment from those who might be appointed from other corps.

It would, however, appear that all the Officers mentioned previous to 1717 were not appointed from other regiments, but had the commission of Captain at once without having held any previous commission.

[It would appear from this that the Corps never could have enjoyed any such privilege; otherwise so little consideration could not have been given to the pretensions of the Officers as to supersede them at once by Individuals from Civil Life, which must certainly be considered more grating to the feelings than to be superseded by Military men.]

This would appear also the case with the Earl of March, father of the late Duke of Richmond.

It appears the Colonel Fielding appointed Captain—July 2, 1717—was a Cornet in the Regiment in the year 1703, and therefore probably got his Troop by promotion in the Regiment.

[If Colonel Fielding got his Troop in regular succession, it shews that a discretion was exercised by the Sovereign at that period, as well as the present, according to the pretensions of the Individual.]

And it would appear as if Captain Madden was appointed from the Regiment on April 2, 1724, to the 4th Regiment of Horse, and brought back again in 1734 to the Regiment.

[This case would of itself put the Blues upon a footing with the line in regard to promotion, by showing that officers were promoted from and to that corps according to discretion.]

It is to be observed that, at the time the late General Johnston (then Major) was appointed to the Regiment from the half-pay of the Fourth Troop of reduced Horse Guards, November 29, 1750, there was neither any Colonel nor Lieutenant Colonel to the Regiment—the Regiment having remained vacant from the death of the Duke of Richmond in

August 1750; and it was in consequence of the death of the late Lieutenant Colonel Jenkinson that Major Johnston was appointed to the Majority *vice* Sir James Chamberlaine appointed Lieutenant Colonel.

[If the Royal Horse Guards ever enjoyed the privileges which are claimed, they could not have been deprived of them because no Colonel was upon the strength of the Regiment. Had such been the case, it would shew that the advantages of a corps must depend upon the personal consideration due to a Colonel, which is a principle it would be difficult to justify !]

It has been said that the appointment of Captain Murray from half-pay to the Regiment and of Mr. Magennis, was occasioned by it being an augmentation of officers, and therefore that the officers of the corps had no reason to expect the indulgence of a general promotion through the Regiment to two Troops.

[In this respect the pretensions of the Royal Horse Guards were considered upon the same principle as would have been applied to any other Regiment under similar circumstances, and if the standing of officers in succession gave them a claim to the whole of the augmentation with reference to the general pretensions of the service they would have obtained it in the Blues or any other corps in the service.]

There have however been two augmentations of Officers during the time His Grace the late Duke of Richmond was Colonel of the Regiment and His Royal Highness the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief:—the first in 1799, when all the promotions went in the Regiment, and the Duke of Richmond was permitted to recommend all the new Cornets upon that occasion; the second in 1803, when the Troops were taken from the Field Officers. In this instance the three eldest Subalterns were appointed to all the three troops and the Duke of Richmond was again indulged with the recommendations of all the Cornets appointed upon this occasion, viz.: Messrs. Terry, Farrier,* and Napier. Besides his late Grace was always indulged † with the

* [This was not so: Messrs. Terry and Farrier were appointed by purchase.]

† [The Duke of Richmond was not so indulged from July 1795 to December 1806—a period of nearly twelve years. There appear to have been only six cornetcies given in the Blues without purchase. Five were at the recommendation of His Grace, but Mr Parker was

appointment to all the Cornetcies vacant, without purchase, during the whole time he was Colonel, and upon his recommendation the following Cornets were all appointed without any interference whatever, viz.: Messrs. Forster, Berkely, Lamb, Parker, and Hill.

[At the instance of augmentation here alluded to it will appear that the officers of the Blues were upon an equality of service with the Subalterns throughout the whole Cavalry Regiments of the Army, and therefore no occasion offered for bringing an Officer into the Blues, as all other Regiments equally afforded opportunities for promotion and removals of officers from half-pay. At present the case is quite different. The augmentation granted to the Blues was not general throughout the service, and the claims of Lieutenant Jebb (though he may be senior to an officer who formerly succeeded upon an augmentation) bear no comparison with those of other subalterns of cavalry; and the opportunity therefore offered a fair occasion for bringing an officer from half-pay, which was done also in the case of each Regiment of the Life Guards by the Prince Regent himself, without the recommendation of the Colonel.

The Duke of Richmond therefore had no indulgence that was not given to other colonels and corps upon that occasion, as the particular case suggested.]

It has been said that one cause of the appointment of Captain Murray from the half-pay was owing to Lieutenant Jebb, the eldest Lieutenant of the Regiment, being too young an officer to be promoted to the command of a Troop. To this objection there are two very forcible answers:—

Imprimis:—By the Standing Orders of the Army, issued by H.R.H.

appointed by the C.-in-C.'s sole recommendation to the King, according to the request of Lord Wilton, as stated in the accompanying copy of a letter from His Lordship to the Duke of York. If any such privilege as is now assumed then existed it would have been violated in this instance, at least; and no person would have been more tenacious of such violation than the Duke of Richmond. Yet His Grace offered no objection or observation on the subject, nor did Marshal Conway, the Duke's immediate predecessor, offer any remonstrance against the appointment of Captain Harcourt and Cornets Elley and Cumberland.]

the present C.-in-C., every officer may be appointed a Captain who has served for three years; and,

Secondly:—Upon the very last augmentation, in 1803, Lieutenant Horsley, who was appointed to one of the Troops, had been less time in the Army than Lieutenant Jebb; as was also the case in the instance of the late Captain Fenwick, who has just quitted the Regiment; the dates of their several commission being as follows, viz. :—

	<i>Cornet</i>	<i>Lieutenant</i>	<i>Captain</i>
James Horsley .	24 May 1799	2 May 1800	25 June 1803
S. A. Fenwick .	2 July 1803	9 June 1804	12 June 1806
John Jebb .	10 March 1808	11 May 1809	Captain Murray app ^d 6 October 1812

From this it appears that Lieutenant Jebb is an older officer and Lieutenant than either Horsley or Fenwick were, when they were promoted to Troops, in addition to the Standing Order of the Army being in favour of Lieutenant Jebb.

[Although an officer is eligible to promotion when he shall have served three years as a subaltern, yet it by no means follows that he should have a claim, upon such grounds, to succession without purchase, because he had been accidentally brought to the head of his rank in his own Regiment. Such eligibility goes little further than to facilitate a young officer's promotion by purchase. But, when the vacancy is without purchase, it becomes a matter of discretion whether or not—according to the circumstances of the case—the promotion shall be given to an officer in succession, or to another candidate; and as Lieutenant Jebb is but a Lieutenant of 1809, and as he appeared to have obtained four steps in the Regiment since December 1811, it was conceived that he could not suffer any grievance, upon the score of his military pretensions, by having an officer brought in from half-pay for the vacant troop, and in awaiting another vacancy.]

A fact has likewise been stated positively to me, which appears very strong in favour of the Blues being appointed to vacant commissions, without any officer being brought in from another regiment, for I have been assured that, upon its being intended, not long ago, to appoint Captain Davies, late of the Life Guards, to a Troop in the Blues, His present Majesty was graciously pleased to put a stop to such

appointment, and declared that no officer from another regiment should be appointed to the Blues. Captain Davies can best state whether this fact is true or not.

[This circumstance was never mentioned, directly or indirectly, to the C.-in-C., and it is not denied that it has been an invariable rule for the officer holding that commission always to submit promotions and appointments to the Blues to the King. It is to be presumed that, had the appointment been really in agitation, he would have been apprized of it.]

It is to be hoped that the conduct of the present officers belonging to the Regiment has not been such as to merit the present great deviation from the indulgence, which, by the above account, it appears they have certainly enjoyed, with hardly any exception, for upwards of 80 years, and from the year 1755 without a single instance to the contrary, till on the present occasion.

[It has never been intended to cast any imputation upon the conduct of the Officers of the Blues. On the contrary, every consideration consistent with the usage of the service has been afforded them, to which they are so justly entitled.

But it is expressly denied that this Statement has proved that they have enjoyed an undeviating right of succession, or that the Colonels have enjoyed the extensive recommendations to original commissions. It would have been fair, in this Statement, to have acknowledged those instances wherein the practice had been at variance with the principle now, for the first time, assumed. Instead of "no single instance to the contrary having occurred, since the year 1755, till on the present occasion," it will appear, as formerly observed, that Captain Harcourt, in the year 1794, was removed to the Blues, and that Cornets Elley and Cumberland were appointed by the King to their original commissions, at the recommendation of the C.-in-C., without any interference whatever on the part of the Colonel. And so few instances of such having been the case is a sufficient proof of the indulgence which has ever been extended to so distinguished a corps. It was never

contemplated that a course of such indulgence could have been construed into a matter of right, without any one document to show that a privilege of such a nature was ever conferred upon the Royal Horse Guards.

Horse Guards,
10th December, 1812.]

As already stated, this battle royal ended in the acquisition by the Marquess of Wellington of the much-coveted post of Colonel of the Royal Horse Guards (Blue). It is said that, in the Peninsula, on the first occasion of his passing the Foot Guards after his appointment, Lord Wellington made the exclamation, "Thank G—, I have got a 'present' out of the Guards at last!"

APPENDIX

REVIEWING the dispute as to the right of nominating to commissions in the Blues, the following article appeared in *The Pilot*, in January, 1813 :—

The Duke of Wellington becomes Colonel of the Royal Horse Guards. When the detachments from the three regiments of cavalry of the King's Household, commonly known by the denomination of the Life Guards and the Blues,* were ordered for service in the Peninsula, it was thought proper—in order to keep up a certain amount of these troops for the several species of home duty, for which experience had proved them to be well fitted, and also for the preservation of a depôt for recruiting the casualties of those on service—to make an augmentation of one squadron, or two troops, in each regiment respectively, and to dispose of the rest on general principles of promotion in the Army, as may be thought most suitable to the good of the service.

In the two Regiments of Life Guards this arrangement was submitted to without any exception either on the part of the Colonels—the Earl of Harrington (1st Reg^t) and Viscount Cathcart (2nd Reg^t)—or of the Officers particularly affected, who were the second senior Lieutenants ; assurances having been given, we believe, to those gentlemen—or at least to some of them having well-founded pretensions—that their claims should be favourably considered, according as the opportunities for promotion and the good of the service would admit.

But in the application of the same arrangement to the Blues, in which it was proposed to give one of the new augmentation-troops to Captain the Hon. C. Murray, from the half-pay—by whose appointment to it an object of considerable importance to the general interests of the army would have been obtained,—an objection was made by his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, Colonel of that Regiment. His Grace contended that all promotions in that Regiment were, by established custom, disposed of, and by right of that custom, to be still disposed of, in regular regimental succession. His Grace at the same time laid claim to the disposal of all the Cornetcies, and in effect

* The Blues were not included in the Household Cavalry till 1820 ; but that they should be so regarded in 1813 was a foreshadowing of the change that was to come.

to the entire patronage of the Regiment, without any interference whatever.

This claim was felt to be nothing short of the demand of the grant and establishment of a distinct Royalty, which could not be admitted, without a compromise and surrender of the Prerogative of the Crown. The Duke of Northumberland was, however, treated with all the respect due to his exalted rank and character, and to his weight and influence in the country. It was shown that the established and invariable custom, which he had pleaded in sanction of his claim, did not exist, and it was represented that, if it had existed, it would be very improper to continue it or to allow any corps to be regarded, or to regard itself, as a privileged body, with the promotion of which the General controuling the superintendence of the army, or even the supreme authority of the State, should not in any instance interfere.

A long discussion arose from the difference of claims and sentiments on both sides, in which we have reason to believe the good offices of H.R.H. the Prince Regent were graciously interposed, and the most zealous efforts of the Ministers were exerted, to reconcile the difference; but the Duke of Northumberland was inflexible, and it was ultimately found indispensable, for the maintenance of the due authority of the Crown with respect to the army, to make his Grace give way to the Commander-in-Chief and the Prince Regent, rather than to make them give way to his Grace.

The consequence was that his Grace sent in his resignation, as we are told, direct to the Prince Regent; that his Royal Highness was to accept it, and did accept it; and that the Regiment has been given to the Marquess of Wellington, as we announced in *The Pilot* of Tuesday, and repeated yesterday.

It has been very improperly and untruly alleged that the person introduced into the Blues, Captain Murray, was a lieutenant of junior standing to the one in the Blues over whom he was placed. But the fact is that, instead of being a lieutenant of junior standing, he was already a Captain, and had been so for several years, having been promoted to that rank on the 20th of May, 1802, as a reference to the army-list will show; whereas his competitor, Lieutenant Jebb, appears from the same authority to be a lieutenant only since the 11th of May, 1809.

It will be remembered that a similar exception was made not long since to the promotion of Lieut. Sumner in the 7th or Royal Fusiliers, on account of his distinguished proficiency at the Royal Military Academy, and that a similar plea of custom in favour of exclusively regimental promotion and of exemption from army promotion, was in that instance urged in behalf of that distinguished regiment also.

But it is obvious that, however particular regiments may, for good reasons and deservedly, be favoured with a greater share of regimental promotion, and a less frequent interposition of army promotion—as the Blues and Fusiliers certainly have been—this favour is not to

be allowed to constitute itself a privilege, with which the Prerogative must not in any instance interfere. If this were permitted in any one instance, there is no reason why it may not be arrogated in others, and the whole army might grow into independence of the Crown.

The length of time that has elapsed since the augmentation of the Household Cavalry will shew the length of the discussions which have terminated in the resignation of the Duke of Northumberland, to which great importance is attached, not only on account of his Grace's high rank, character, and influence in the country, but also from an idea pretty prevalent in the country, that he may transfer his military resentment to his political conduct and withdraw his support from the present Ministers, which would be a material drawback from their strength in the approaching formidable Parliamentary struggle.

The following excerpt from another public print illustrates the marked distinction which had hitherto been drawn between the privileges of the Life Guards and those of the Royal Horse Guards :—

While we regret that the Duke of Northumberland should have entertained the erroneous idea that the Blues were to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the Commander-in-Chief, which has ever been willingly submitted to by the Household Troops (who report direct to the Sovereign, whereas the Blues can only approach the ear of His Majesty through the Commander-in-Chief), we take the opportunity of congratulating the Army on the firmness shown by His Royal Highness and the Executive Government in the proceedings. (*Military Panorama*, 1813.)

CHAPTER LXII

THE new Colonel of the Blues, on learning his appointment, at once wrote to the Commander-in-Chief:—

Freneda, 31st January, 1813.

SIR,

I have the honour of receiving your Royal Highness' letter of the 13th January, in which your Royal Highness has informed me that the Prince Regent has been graciously pleased to appoint me as Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards.

Colonel Torrens, military secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, wrote:—

. . . I congratulate you sincerely upon your appointment to the Blues, and though I know that you will give up the 33rd with regret, yet there cannot be any doubt upon a point where so old and distinguished a Regiment of Guards is in question. If you were one of those who thought of emoluments on such occasions, I would add that the Blues will give you an income of about £3,000 a year.

Nothing can be more silly and ridiculous than the conduct of the Duke of Northumberland, who has taken offence because the late augmentation of troops was not given entirely in Regimental succession. His Grace wished to have bullied the Regent, the Government, and the Commons in brief.

If you have any curiosity in the matter, I will send you the correspondence. . . .

The question of the army agent's position had recently been brought into prominence. In the House of Commons on July 27th, 1812, a member had moved for the production of accounts "to explain the situation in which the public were placed by the employment of army agents." He stated that very large sums were advanced by Government to army agents without security. He said that Mr. Greenwood, in particular, was agent for more than two-thirds of the whole

Army, and he maintained that no private individual should have charge of such an accumulation of public money.

Lord Wellington, whose letter to Messrs. Greenwood, Cox, and Co. of January 31st, 1813, crossed Mr. Greenwood's two letters of the 16th and 26th, takes the businesslike precaution of requiring security from the agents:—

LORD WELLINGTON TO MESSRS. GREENWOOD, COX, AND CO.

Freneda, 31st January, 1813.

MY DEAR SIRS,

. . . You will have heard that His Royal Highness has appointed me to be Colonel of the Blues, an honor as unexpected by me, as it is gracious on the part of His Royal Highness. I do not know whether the power of attorney which you already have from me will enable you to take charge of the agency of the Blues; but if it should not, as I wish to appoint your house to be the agent of the Blues, I beg that you will send me the regular power of attorney.

. . . I believe it is usual for the Colonel of a regiment, to require security from the agent of his regiment for the due performance of his duty towards the public, and to indemnify the Colonel from loss in transactions in which he cannot be a gainer.

As long as my late regiment, the 33rd, were in India, the transactions between the agents and the public were confined nearly to my own concerns, as a *contractor for clothing*; and as Colonel of the regiment, I could not ask security for the performance of these transactions; but if the favor of the Prince Regent had not removed me from the 33rd, I should certainly have required that your house should secure me and my family from loss in the transactions of that regiment with the public, after their extension by the arrival of the regiment from India. It is much more necessary in the case of the Blues.

. . . I have known many instances of the most prosperous houses failing, and I know enough of the nature of the business between the War Office and houses of agency, to be astonished that more do not fail. I have children, and I am determined not to involve myself or them in the intricacies of public accounts if I can avoid it.

Under these circumstances, I request you to state whether it is usual for the agent of a regiment to give security to the Colonel to indemnify him from all loss; and if it is, I request you to name the securities for your house as agents for the Blues.

. . . I beg that you will employ for the Blues the same persons who were employed by the Duke of Northumberland, and let every thing go on as it has been hitherto.

Believe me, &c.

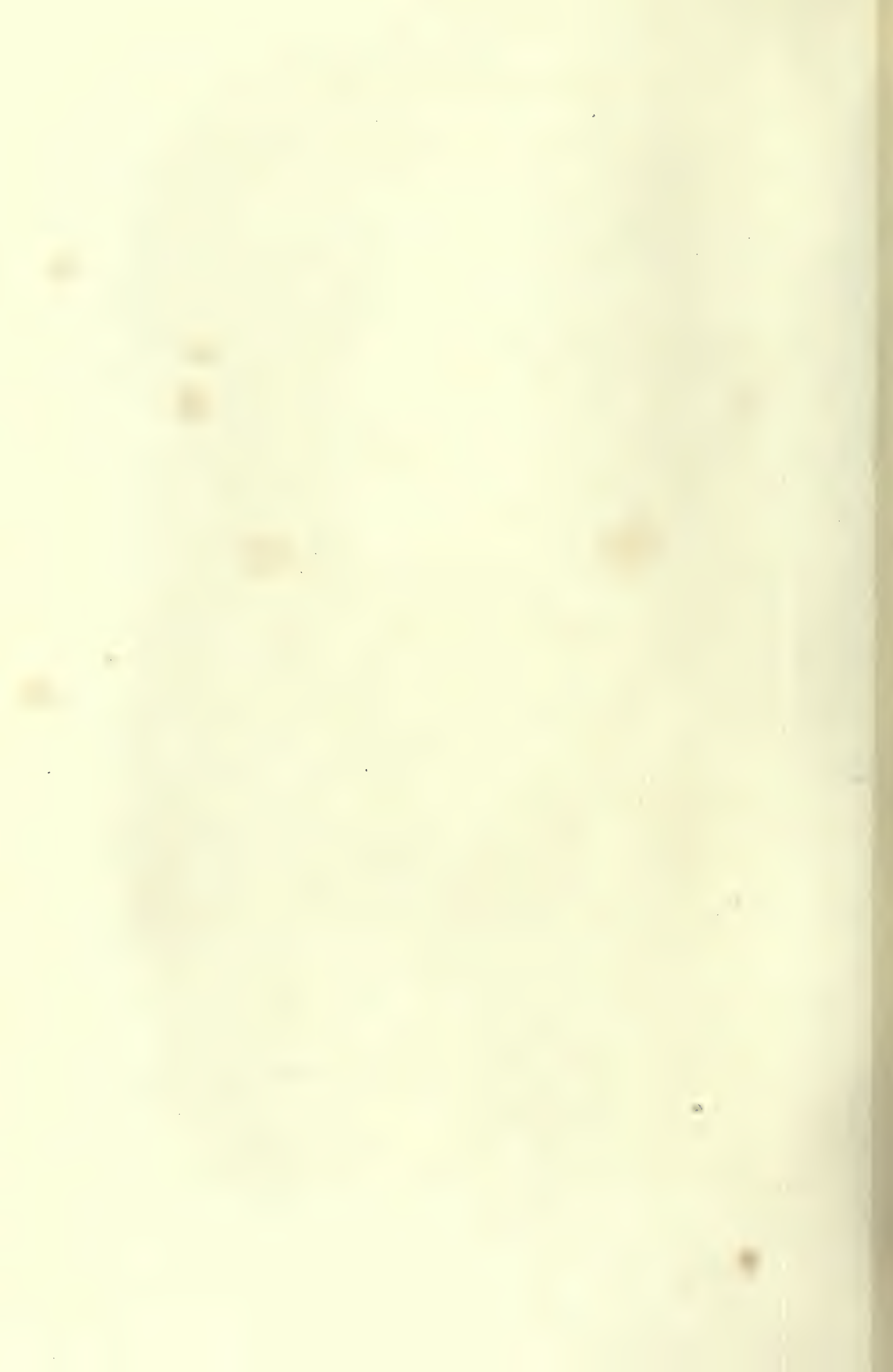
WELLINGTON.

Messrs. Greenwood, Cox, and Co.



Captain Alexander Mc Innis.

*Who retired from the 2nd Life Guards with the rank of Captain in 1811,
and rejoined the same year as Cornet, in order to take part in the campaign in Belgium.
From an oil painting by R.R. Reinagle R.A. painted in 1827 now in the Royal United Service Institution.*



Messrs. Greenwood, it may be added, fully recognised the reasonableness of Lord Wellington's request, and duly furnished ample security.

MR. CHARLES GREENWOOD TO LORD WELLINGTON.

Craigs Court, 16th January, 1813.

MY DEAR LORD,

Permit me to have the honour of congratulating your Lordship upon your appointment to the command of the Royal Horse Guards Blue, and at the same time to acquaint you that the power of attorney which we hold as agents to your Lordship, for the 33rd Regiment of foot, will enable us to act equally for the Blues, and there will be no occasion to trouble your Lordship for any other instrument.

The assignments for the Blues in favour of your Lordship will commence upon the 25th of December of the present year, and that for the 33rd will terminate.

By the next mail I shall have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a list of the tradesmen employed by the late Colonel, when it may be advisable for your Lordship to fix on those who are to be employed in future, or I fear you will be very much teased with applications, and particularly from those who provide horse-appointments.

I have the honour to be, with much truth and respect,

My dear Lord,

Your Lordship's very faithful, and obedient servant,

CHARLES GREENWOOD.

General The Marquis Wellington, G.C.B.,
etc. etc. etc.

The important subject of the maintenance of the Blues' Band—hitherto a burden on the Colonel of the Regiment—is now first broached in a letter from

MR. CHARLES GREENWOOD TO LORD WELLINGTON.

Craig's Court, 26th January, 1813.

MY LORD,

I have now the honour to enclose to your Lordship such States as I think may answer the enquiries you may wish to make about the Royal Horse Guards.

The Subsistence and Arrears together you will find make the Pay nearly to that of the Colonel of any other Regiment of Cavalry. There is a trifling difference that arises from there being no allowance for Hautbois as in other regiments, viz. the pay of one man per troop, but on the other hand the pay of the Warrant men is better in the Blues than in any other regiment by 10*d.* per day per man.

The emoluments from the Offreckonings ought to be as good as in

other regiments of cavalry ; if they are not, it must be from a want of management. The Band at present is extremely expensive. Your Lordship will be so good, after you have considered the enclosed State, as to let me know your pleasure upon it ; whether it should be continued as it is, or on a reduced scale, or done away altogether, as there was no Band previous to the appointment of the late Colonel ; the latter, I fear, however the Regiment would be adverse to, as I find they are all partial to it. The expense to the Colonel upon the present plan is upwards of £500 a year. . . .

Lord Wellington writes in reply to Mr. Charles Greenwood :—

. . . I have received your letter of the 26th January, and I have already communicated to you my intention to employ the same tradesmen for the Blues as the Duke of Northumberland.

Let the expense of the Band be paid as it has been hitherto by the Duke ; but I will speak to Elley and Hill upon the subject, as it would be absurd in me to incur permanently such an expense, because the Duke of Northumberland did. . . .*

The usual crop of applications from people with axes to grind arrives at quick maturity. A new colonel was specially regarded as fair game by clothing contractors. The scramble begins forthwith ; Messrs Bruce and Brown are first in the field :—

MR. BROWN TO LORD WELLINGTON.

47, Parliament Street, 18th January, 1813.

MY LORD,

Having recently sold my Majority in the 90th Regiment, and joined a very old and particular friend of mine, Mr. Bruce, in the Army Agency and Clothing Line, I beg to solicit your Lordship's patronage in my new undertaking, and in consequence of your appointment to the Blues, I hope I shall not be considered as presuming too much in asking to be favoured with your agency of Clothing. . . .

* In August, 1814, is recorded the sequel :—

The fine band of the Horse Guards Blue, which has so long been one of the distinctions of that ancient regiment, is about to be reduced.

The expence of it appears to have exceeded £900 a year, which was chiefly paid by the Colonel, and the Duke of Wellington does not feel the necessity of burdening his fortune with an expenditure which adds nothing to the strength of the Corps.

Estimate of Messrs. Bruce and Brown's Prices for Clothing the Royal Horse Guards Blues :—

Corporal Majors .	Coat & Waistcoat .	£4 10 6
Corporals . . .	" "	£3 4 6
Depute . . .	" "	£3 4 6
Trumpeters and Music	" "	£3 15 9
Farriers . . .	" "	£3 4 6
Privates . . .	" "	£3 4 6

Comparative statement of the difference between the prices charged the Duke of Northumberland, for last years Clothing Account, 1812-13, and those of Messrs. Bruce and Brown's:—

Prices charged the Duke of Northumberland for last year's Clothing 1812-13 :—

	each.		
53 Corporals . . .	£4 9 6	£	237 3 6
700 Privates . . .	£3 9 3	£	2423 15 0
10 Trumpeters . . .	£3 18 7	£	39 5 10
	Total.	£	2700 4 4

Messrs. Bruce and Brown's Prices for the same numbers :—

53 Corporals . . .	£3 4 6	£	170 18 6
700 Privates . . .	£3 4 6	£	2257 10 0
10 Trumpeters . . .	£3 15 9	£	37 17 6
	Total.	£	2466 6 0

Saving to the Colonel :—

each.	
£1 5 0	£ 66 5 0
£0 4 9	£166 5 0
£0 2 10	£ 1 8 4
	Total. £233 18 4

General Harris and his son-in-law are also very pressing :—

GENERAL HARRIS TO LORD WELLINGTON.

Belmont, Feversham, 24th January, 1813.

MY DEAR LORD,

With sincere congratulations on your appointment to the Blues, permit me to ask, if you are so situated that you can oblige me by giving the Clothing of it to my son-in-law, who is in partnership with an old established House, now Duberly and Hodgson.

Thus introduced, the son-in-law sends the painstaking composition reproduced below. It will be conceded that

the *Ne plus ultra* of the commission system is reached in the truly remarkable proposal that a real and a nominal agent should share the profits of the clothing agency of the Blues, and that Lord Wellington should pay them both! Yet such is the actual effect of the letter here subjoined:—

MY LORD,

The enclosed letter of introduction from my Father in Law, General Harris, will, I trust, secure pardon from your Lordship for my presumption in thus addressing you.

The General has most kindly adverted to those qualifications which can alone sanction the Request he has made in my behalf. Should circumstances allow your Lordship to honour me with your Patronage the most lively gratitude would incite me most strenuously to support your Lordships Interests & to merit your Lordships Favor.

The lucrative patronage of the Blues induces me to think that your Lordship will be desirous of conferring the situation of Agent & Clothier upon an immediate friend. Should such be your Lordship's intention, & should that person, either from his habits of life, or from a want of knowledge of Business, feel incompetent to fulfill the duties required, I should feel most happy to transact the business required, & to yield to him one-half of the profits derived from the Agency & Clothing, or a certain & fixed Annuity of £500 per annum.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord, with greatest respect,

Your Lordship's most devoted & faithful Serv^t

M. HODGSON.

35 Soho Sq.

25th Jan. 1813.

The following, though undated, must have been written early in 1813:—

SIR ROBERT HILL TO LORD WELLINGTON.

MY LORD,

Your Lordship having on a former occasion desired that I should mention what might at any time be an advantage to your corps, I take the liberty of informing you that the Regiment is in want of Cornets, and that there is one in your presentation, not having been filled up since the augmentation. When the Duke of Northumberland retired from the Service, he informed me that he should leave this commission for his Excellency the Marquis of Wellington, Colonel of the Royal Horse Guards, etc. etc. etc., his successor, to recommend to; and, as your Excellency must doubtless have many applications, I have

taken the liberty of pointing out where you can pay one of them a compliment.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's

Very obedient servant,

ROBERT HILL,

Commanding Royal Horse Guards.

To the vacant cornetcy in the Blues, referred to above, the Duke appointed Lord William Lennox, who was ordered to proceed at once to join his regiment in Portugal.

CHAPTER LXIII

THE circumstances of, and the sequel to, the famous retreat of Sir John Moore on Corunna in January, 1809, were profoundly disquieting to British patriotism. All that was evident at the moment to an uninformed public was the fact that a sadly diminished force of worn, ragged and disappointed soldiers had been hunted to the Spanish coast and compelled to embark for England. Much time must elapse before the realisation of Sir John Moore's dying hope that his country would one day do him justice. Indeed, it is only in quite recent times that his superb strategy has been fully vindicated, and it has remained for the most scientific military writers of the twentieth century to exhibit the heroic retreat on Corunna as the crown of a great military plan, but for which Waterloo itself might never have been fought. Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose previous experience in the Peninsula invested his representations with the greater weight, urged the sending of another expedition to co-operate with the national forces of Portugal and Spain for the expulsion of the foreign intruder. Wellesley's advice was followed, and he himself on April 2nd, 1809, was placed in command of an expeditionary force of 25,000 men with the defence of Portugal as its main object.

The European situation was critical. Her defeat at Wagram had reduced Austria, as Jena had reduced Prussia, to a state of submission to Napoleon's will. The rest of Germany was prostrate before him. The Tsar

was his ally ; members of his own family had usurped the thrones of Holland, Naples, and Spain.

Thus England was in 1809 the only Power that still defied the conqueror, though it can hardly be said that her defiance was adequately backed by the small army with which Wellesley landed in Spain. He indeed began operations with a brilliant feat of arms—his crossing of the Douro* in the presence of Soult's army and subsequent victory at Talavera ; but the weakness of his army in point of numbers forced a strategic retreat into Portugal and the memorable preparation of the lines of Torres Vedras, on which he was able to retire after gaining an advantage over Masséna at Busaco in October, 1810. During the two following years Lord Wellington had need of all the patience he could muster, but it was amply rewarded at Fuentes d'Onoro in May, 1811, at Ciudad Rodrigo in January, 1812, at Badajos in the following April, and at Salamanca in July.† An advance to Burgos was followed by a withdrawal to Ciudad Rodrigo till the spring of the next year.

The Brigade of Life Guards and Blues under the command of General Rebow‡ of the 2nd Life Guards had already embarked at Portsmouth early in November, 1812, and after a very rough passage landed at Lisbon on the 23rd. They remained in quarters for about a couple of months, the Blues proceeding up-country to Thomar in the middle of January, 1813, and the Life Guards, after

* Wellesley was cr. Baron Douro and Visct. Wellington, September 4th, 1809.

† The Earldom of Wellington was conferred February 28th, and the Marquisate, October 3rd, 1812.

‡ Two months later, Rebow returned to England on leave, when Sir R. C. Hill of the Blues, as next senior officer, took over the Brigade, leaving his regiment to Captain Packe. The following September Colonel O'Loughlin, of the First Life Guards, arrived from England to command the Brigade, which was thus led in turn by a representative of each regiment.

an inspection by the Commander-in-Chief on January 18th, following early in February.*

On the 19th March Wellington wrote to Sir Robert Hill:—

I shall be much obliged if you will let me know whether it would now be inconvenient to the Household Brigade of Cavalry to move from their present cantonments to make room for the Hussars. I have not written to you since I had the honour of being appointed Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards Blue. I hope that you and the officers of the regiment will believe that I am very sensible of the honour which has been conferred on me, and I shall be most happy to take an early opportunity of forming an acquaintance with the Regiment. I hope in the meantime you will let me know if I can do anything which can be of use to the regiment, or to any individual belonging to it.

It was not until the 23rd May that the Brigade, having a few days previously been again inspected by Wellington, joined the camp of the Allies near San Manoz. The general, and what proved to be the final, advance had already begun. On the 18th, Sir Thomas Graham had been ordered to cross the Douro with the left wing of the army, consisting of five infantry divisions, two Portuguese brigades, and some cavalry, and to proceed through Tras os Montes to Zamora. On the 22nd Wellington himself, with a force to which the Household Cavalry were attached, marched on the direct road to Salamanca, and on the same day Sir Rowland Hill started from Bejar under orders to join up with Wellington at Alba de Tormes. On May 25th Wellington wrote to Graham from Matilla that the Light Division and the Household Cavalry were

* Maj.-Gen. W. Rebow writes to Lord Wellington:—"Lisbon, 17th January, 1813. I have the honour to address your Lordship respecting the allowance for contingencies, granted to all Captains of Cavalry excepting those of His Majesty's Life Guards. As the Regiments of Life Guards are now employed on the same service with the rest of the Cavalry in this country, and are liable to the same contingencies, the Captains of them have made an application to me through their commanding officers, in order that they may receive the same allowances, which application I take the liberty to lay before your Lordship for your consideration."

on the stream called Valmusa, and that Victor Alten's brigade was thrown further forward towards Salamanca. The following morning he announced his arrival at Salamanca, with the further intelligence that General Villatte, having over-stayed himself there, had been roughly handled by Alten's and Fane's brigades.

Two days later the Commander-in-Chief, having satisfied himself as to the disposition of his right and centre, placed Sir Rowland Hill in charge of the whole force on the south bank. He then caused himself to be slung across the Douro in a basket suspended from the cliffs of Miranda and went off to confer with Graham, whom he picked up at Carvajales on the 30th.

With his extraordinary capacity for detail, Lord Wellington wrote, just as he was starting, to Sir Robert Hill,* then in command of the Household Cavalry Brigade, enclosing a formal complaint as to his men having cut and destroyed some green forage in the neighbourhood, and urging that if green forage were necessary for the horses, a mode of obtaining it which should not injure the owners must be strictly enforced.

On June 2nd the Household Cavalry, who for six days had been quartered at Salamanca in monasteries which the French had turned into barracks, joined Sir Rowland Hill's† camp, and early on the morning of the 4th forded the river Douro just below Toro.

The next day the Household Brigade was ordered to stand fast at Valoria, whence it moved at 5 a.m. on the 6th, escorting the reserve artillery. On the 7th the Carrion, at Palencia, was negotiated, the French having decided the previous day not to dispute its passage, and on the 8th the Allied army occupied the two banks of the

* Sir Robert Chambre Hill, C.B., 1778-1860.

† Sir Rowland Hill, G.C.B., elder brother to sir Robert Hill; cr. baron Hill 1814, visc'. Hill '42, c.-in-c. '28-42.

Pisuerga, the enemy, both of whose flanks had been completely turned, hurriedly retreating to their point of concentration, Burgos. On June 10th the Brigade was at Melgar de Fernamental, and on the 12th, having detailed a letter party to Villa Sandino, was with the pontoon-train at Villa Mayor. On the night of the 12th the British army bivouacked within sight of Burgos, and very early in the morning of the 13th was awakened by a tremendous explosion, which was heard fifty miles off. Being compelled to a further retreat towards the Ebro, the French decided to blow up the castle, for which purpose they had placed above 1,000 shells in the mine. The explosion, however, was premature, and nearly 300 men working in it were killed by the shower of iron and timber. Gates, guns, carriages and arms lay in a confused mass of ruins, and the castle was badly damaged, although Wellington reported next day it would be easy to restore it to a state of defence.

Wellington, sticking to his plan of moving by his left to threaten the French right flank, now made a great flank march, and on the 15th crossed the Ebro by the Puente de Arenas, and, steering his force through the rugged defiles and narrow passes of the mountainous country between Santander and Guipúzcoa, bore down upon Vittoria. Nothing could exceed the beauty of the scenery, the difficulty of the obstacles, or the importance of the results attending this famous six days' march, which immediately caused the enemy's communications from the coast-line to be cut off, and which afforded the English Commander-in-Chief a new base. The Spaniards solemnly warned Wellington of the impossibility of moving cavalry and artillery through such a wilderness. To all their representations he turned a polite but deaf ear, and, although three times molested by the enemy, he emerged on June 19th at Subijana on the Bayas actively threatening the French right and rear. The orders

issued to the Household Cavalry that day were to move by Osma to Carcaro with the reserve artillery.

On the 20th Wellington exhaustively examined the enemy's position, and made arrangements for the morrow's operations. The French lines, conforming to the course of the Zadora, exhibited two fronts. On the right, facing north, was the French "Army of Portugal," whose commander, General Reille, had been enjoined to defend the bridges of Gamara Mayor and Ariago, where the Bilbao and Durango roads cross the river. Joseph's centre, facing west and covering the main road to Vittoria, was about seven miles off, and nearly at right angles to Reille, while the left of the line was on the mountain slopes facing the defiles of La Puebla.

Wellington's attack was designed to assume the character of three distinct battles. Graham was instructed with the 20,000 men under his immediate command to push his way by the Bilbao road. To Hill, with his mixed force of British, Spaniards and Portuguese, was assigned the task of carrying the bridges and defile of La Puebla; while Wellington decided to direct the centre in person, taking with him 30,000 troops, including all the cavalry except two brigades sent to stiffen Graham. Hill set off at 10 a.m., crossed the Zadora, drove his opponents from the heights of La Puebla, and pounced on the village of Subijana de Alava, rolling back the enemy's left on Vittoria.

Some delay occurred in the centre attack, the 3rd and 7th Divisions under Sir Thomas Picton and Lord Dalhousie being hindered by the roughness of the road. A Spanish peasant, who paid for his loyalty with his life, pointed out the unguarded bridge of Tres Puentes; and Kempt's riflemen were hurried forward to seize it, which they did with little difficulty, one of the few casualties being the death of the peasant, who was picked off by a round shot. The firing, however, gave the signal to

Graham, who had agreed to postpone his advance against Reille till he should hear his Chief at work. His job proved a very arduous one: Reille, though eventually outmatched, exhibiting himself as a most skilful commander and disputing every inch of ground. Having expelled the French advanced guard under General Sarrut out of Aranjuez and off the heights on the right bank covering the bridges, Graham made good, after a severe rebuff, the village of Gamara Mayor.

Wellington in the centre was at one moment beginning to fret at his inability to develop his own attack owing to the non-arrival of the two divisions, when, in the nick of time, he espied Picton, who, dressed in a blue coat and a round hat, was urging his men with many strange oaths to put their best foot foremost. Dalhousie arriving almost at the same time, the divisions deployed quickly into their places in the line of battle. Picton crossed the bridge of Mendoza with little trouble, thanks to the activity of Kempt's riflemen, whose first reward was to be plied with round shot by British gunners, not unreasonably deceived by the dark uniform of their comrades. The 7th Division forded the river, and the whole French centre fell back to the village of Arinez, to which they clung desperately, and for which a see-saw fight took place, marked by conspicuous courage on both sides. But the combination of Picton and Dalhousie, with Kempt's rifle brigade showing the way, proved too strong, and the enemy, still keeping good order, was swept along the highway to Vittoria.

The successful pressure on the French centre and left had their effect on Reille, who realised that, owing to the disposition of his column, his left flank and rear would soon be entirely exposed. Having formed a reserve of infantry at Betono, to the east of Vittoria, Reille eventually withdrew his fighting-line upon them, leaving his gallant subordinate, Sarrut, dead at Ariaga bridge. Discipline

and good order were maintained in Reille's retirement until his men became involved in the panic which had overtaken their comrades of the centre and left. Then, hopelessly demoralised, the entire French army at last retreated helter-skelter. King Joseph, hearing that Graham was astride of the Bayonne road, hurried off by the route leading by Salvatierra to Pampeluna. Five minutes after his carriage left the town, Captain Wyndham and a squadron of the Tenth Hussars dashed through the streets in hot pursuit, and Joseph only effected his escape by jumping out of his carriage on to the back of a horse and galloping off at top speed with a small escort of dragoons.

A dense pall of dust and smoke hung over and obscured the whole of the deep basin in which Vittoria stood. The French artillerymen unlimbered the guns and rode away on the gun horses. They abandoned 151 pieces of cannon, with 415 caissons of ammunition, while upwards of 14,000 rounds of gun, and two millions of musket, cartridges were also left behind. Yet the munitions of war scarcely formed the principal spoil. The King's carriage stuffed with private papers, the military chest, Marshal Jourdain's *bâton*,* imperial eagles, stores, equipages, immense piles of plate, priceless pictures plundered from Spanish churches, and jewels in profusion, formed a rich jumble of immense value and infinite variety. The situation was aggravated by the presence in the garrison of an enormous number of women, some of whom had not been included in the *sauve qui peut*. Wives and mistresses of officers, actresses and nuns, were huddled together in hideous and helpless confusion.†

* Wellington sent the *bâton* to England as a gift to the Prince Regent, who in return presented the General with the *bâton* of a British Field Marshal.

† A French prisoner said to Wellington—"Le fait est, Monseigneur, que vous avez une armée, nous sommes un bordel ambulante." (*Notes on Conversations with the Duke of Wellington, East Stanhope.*)

The advance of the Household Cavalry had been by the Bilbao road, through the valley in the centre of the position, over ground so broken and rugged that they could do little more than support the infantry advance. When an entry had been made into Vittoria, a party of the First Life Guards was told off to guard a portion of the town. The rest of the brigade was despatched to drive off a corps of the enemy's infantry which was posted with its right resting on the Pampeluna road so as to cover the retreat of the French left flank.

A deep ravine which lay in their way proved a nasty trap; the Life Guards, attempting to "fly" it, left several men and horses in its bottom, who were, however, subsequently extricated without loss of life. The Blues, profiting by their comrades' discomfiture, took ground to the right, and crossed the cutting at a less formidable place without casualty. The Brigade was, however, disappointed of a collision, as the French infantry, harassed by some horse artillery covering the cavalry advance from an eminence, abandoned their post. The general pursuit was continued till nightfall, but was not very effectual, the infantry being utterly worn out and the cavalry being incessantly impeded by the ditches with which the country was intersected.

The Allied losses on June 21st, which fell chiefly on the British regiments, comprised 33 officers killed and 230 wounded, with 707 soldiers killed and 4,210 wounded and missing. For this great victory Wellington was promoted Field Marshal, and created Duque de Vittoria in Spain; he also received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament and a tentative invitation from Russia and Germany to assume the post and functions of Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces in Central Europe.

On the night of the battle the Life Guards bivouacked

in a plantation on the Pampeluna road, and the following day pushed on to Salvatierra, where a gun was captured from the fugitives. They remained for forty-eight hours in drenching rain and without rations.

King Joseph arrived at Bayonne in a condition bordering on despair. Nor were his spirits improved by a letter which Napoleon addressed to him from Dresden three weeks later stating that he was to be superseded on the Spanish frontier by Marshal Soult, and adding with fraternal frankness "*J'ai longtemps compromis mes affaires pour des imbéciles.*"

Meanwhile General Clausel, with 14,000 men, had been hastening to Vittoria in blissful ignorance of the events of June 21st. He arrived within striking-distance of the town, on the 22nd, to find it occupied by the British, and, hastily going about, retired to Logroño. A strong force—including the Household Cavalry—was sent in pursuit of him. Clausel arrived at Tudela on the 27th, intending to strike the frontier by way of Olite and Tafalla. He received, however, intelligence that Lord Wellington—who had left Hill to invest Pampeluna—was marching down the valley of the Zidara to cut him off. Doubling back, therefore, the French columns made for Zaragoza, and Clausel, believing that the whole Allied army was at his heels, abandoned his baggage, spiked some of his guns, and escaped into France by the pass of Jaca. The Household Cavalry were stationed for three weeks in the Convent of San Francisco at Logroño.

Marshal Soult arrived in the Pyrenees on July 13th, and with an army increased by reinforcements to 77,500 men advanced on the 24th to the relief of San Sebastian and Pampeluna.* The 25th was an unlucky day for the

* It had been intended to besiege Pampeluna, but the reconnaissance which Wellington made on the 6th July with the great engineer officer, Sir Richard Fletcher, convinced him of its impregnable strength, and a blockade by the 6th and 7th Divisions was decided on.

British arms, due in some degree, as the great British Commander himself admitted, to simultaneous operations having been undertaken against two places widely separated by very difficult country. The assault on San Sebastian failed, and the Allies were forced back from their position in the pass of Araza. Wellington himself, hurrying the next morning from San Sebastian to join Picton at Huarte, and having at one moment despatched all his staff on various messages, narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by a small body of French cavalry.

On July 27th a further retreat was necessary to a position in front of the villages Huarte and Villalba which covered the blockade of Pampeluna. Ordered at noon on the 27th to hurry to their point of concentration, the Household Cavalry arrived there the next afternoon to find that the French had advanced in force from Sorauren to deliver a blow against the Allied left, and that a fierce, though indecisive, battle was raging, as to which Wellington subsequently wrote to Lord Liverpool: "I never saw such fighting as on the 27th and 28th July, the anniversary of Talavera, nor such determination as our troops showed."

On the 29th not a shot was fired, though the situation of the Allies was improved by the arrival of Dalhousie's division. At dawn on the 30th, Soult, realising that his further advance was barred, moved off by his right, leaving Reille in position to mask the main retrograde movement. Wellington was not to be deceived; despatching Picton and Dalhousie against the French flanks, he ordered the 6th Division to seize the village of Sorauren, while General Cole with his division flung himself against the enemy's centre.

The French position was completely carried, with terrible loss of life, and a retreat northwards through the difficult pass of Doña Maria took place. The fighting was almost entirely monopolised by the infantry, the ground being

absolutely impracticable for the cavalry, who were held in reserve.

The Household Cavalry were quartered for some days in villages around Pampeluna, but, forage failing, they were ordered back to Logroño, which they reached on August 12th, and where they remained without taking further part in the successful autumn and winter operations.

A disagreeable incident occurred early in September, when an officer of the Life Guards placed a subaltern—acting adjutant—under arrest for alleged misconduct and disobedience on parade. The court-martial convened completely exonerated the prisoner, and stated that the conduct of his accuser, on the other hand, was highly unmilitary and reprehensible, and that the charge brought was vexatious and frivolous. The Commander-in-Chief, in confirming the finding, included in his censure the senior officer present on the occasion for not interfering to protect the young subaltern, and added that it must be understood in the Life Guards, and in the Army in general, that the possession of rank in the service is attended by the necessity for the performance of duty, and that it is not in the power of an officer to lay aside or assume his rank at his pleasure, but most particularly not when he is on parade for the performance of duty.

At the end of October the Household Brigade was inspected by Sir Stapleton Cotton,* who drew a comparison between the Life Guards and the Blues to the advantage of the latter, of whom he reported "Nothing can be better in every respect." The General suggested that, as there were evidently many men in the Life Guards who were really too old for active service in so arduous a campaign, they should be sent back to England and their

* Created Viscount Combermere, and appointed in 1829 to the command of the First Life Guards.

recently arrived remounts given to the Light Dragoons. He told General O'Loghlin, who had assumed command of the Brigade, to have route-marches instead of field-days, and as he considered the Brigade too heavy to skirmish, he ordered all the carbines—except six per troop—to be returned into store.

It would seem that this off-hand report left an unfavourable impression on Wellington's mind as to the Life Guards, which was not wholly removed until the experience of Waterloo proved to him their merit and mettle.* He wrote to Admiral Pellew that he had only advised that officer's nephew to take a commission in the Life Guards because he was not sure of a vacancy occurring elsewhere, and that he would endeavour to effect an exchange for the young man into the 14th Dragoons. There occur in his private and official correspondence further indications of the opinion he held for the next eighteen months as to the serviceableness of the Household Cavalry.

The Brigade remained at Logroño till March, 1814, when, under orders to join the army in France, they proceeded along the pass in the Pyrenees by Tolosa to St. Jean de Luz, where they were strengthened by three squadrons from England.† Crossing the pontoon bridge at Bayonne, they were quartered for a week at Pau, and on April 10th were present in reserve at the final struggle before Toulouse, when Soult was driven from the whole line of his entrenchments, although the Duke of Wellington ‡ afterwards told Lord de Ros that in the whole of his

* Wellington's mature judgment is recorded in CHAPTER LXVII., p. 619. Compare Lord Wolseley on the Household Cavalry, CHAPTER LXXIV., p. 680.

† King Street, 11th January, 1814. In consequence of Two troops being ordered for Foreign Service, the following Officers will hold themselves in readiness to proceed immediately for embarkation, viz. Captains Irby and Kenyon, Major Fitzgerald, Lieut. James, Sub-Lieuts. Kenyon and Moreton.

‡ Created Duke, May 3rd, 1814.

experience he had never seen an enemy so strongly posted as the French were at the battle of Toulouse.

The sacrifice of life on this occasion was the more to be regretted as it was wholly unnecessary ; for only two days later arrived a French and an English officer from Paris to say that Napoleon had abdicated, that Paris had capitulated, and that a state of war between the two countries no longer existed.

On May 31st the Household Cavalry started on their march to Court, and passing through Limoges, Orléans, Étampes, Mantes, and Abbeville, reached Boulogne on July 21st, whence they embarked the next day for England.

During the interval between the Peninsula War and the Waterloo campaign the following order was issued referring to the brigading of the Blues with the Household Cavalry :—

“ Horse Guards,

“ August 24, 1814.

“ H.R.H. the Prince Regent in the name and on behalf of His Majesty is pleased to command in future, where the two regiments of Life Guards, and the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, or any two of these Regiments, or detachments from any of the three Regiments above named, or any two of them, shall be together on the same duty, they shall be considered as one Corps or Brigade.

“ These Regiments, or any of them, on the King's duty in London, or where the Court is held, will receive the orders of and report to the Sovereign, through the Gold-Stick-in-Waiting, or in such manner as His Majesty may be pleased to appoint. When it may be judged expedient

to dispense with the presence of the whole Brigade, it is the intention of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, that one Regiment in rotation shall be stationed in Country-Quarters.

“The Regiment so detached from the Brigade, will follow the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, or such General or other Officer as may command upon the station, or in the quarter or camp, and may be brigaded with His Majesty’s other regiments of cavalry, and take their share in any duty in the same manner as has been the case of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, when not on the King’s duty in the metropolis.

“The detached Regiment will be liable to be reviewed and inspected by General Officers appointed for that purpose, in like manner with His Majesty’s other cavalry.

“Nothing in this order is to affect any existing privilege or regulation which has been given or made to or for any of these Regiments, in regard to their Colonel’s receiving the orders of the Sovereign, touching the succession and promotion of officers, finance, clothing and equipment, recruiting, and remount, discharging men, and casting horses, or otherwise.

“By command of H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief,

“HARRY CALVERT,
Adj. Gen.” *

* *Military Extracts*, ii.



OFFICER. 2ND REGT. OF LIFE GUARDS, 1812.

CHAPTER LXIV

ON receipt of the news that Napoleon had arrived from Elba on French soil on March 1st, 1815, the Powers of Europe were scared out of their wrangling at Vienna, and allied themselves together against the common foe. England, Prussia, Austria, and Russia agreed to provide 150,000 men each for the armies which were to invade France—England having to perform her part of the bargain partly in treasure instead of in troops, owing to the haste with which, as usual, the British Government had disbanded its soldiers on the recent declaration of peace. Against these allied forces Napoleon made arrangements by which, in July, he should have 800,000 men under arms. He was already able, early in June, to dispose of more than half a million of soldiers, of whom 300,000 were for the greater part seasoned troops, many of them old campaigners, and well officered. The Emperor had lost some of his marshals, and Grouchy's efficiency has been questioned, but he possessed Soult as his chief lieutenant, Ney as an able commander, and a number of experienced leaders—such as Reille, d'Erlon, and Vandamme, who had distinguished themselves in war. After detaching sufficient troops for the Army of the Rhine, and for the forces set to guard the Jura, the Alps, the Var, and the Pyrenees, as well as to overawe the Royalists of La Vendée and the west, the Emperor had still left for service in the Army of the North, 101,000 infantry, 23,000 cavalry, and 370 guns—the whole constituted into five army corps and including the Imperial Guard.

In one respect the Allies were fortunate. No question could arise as to the choice of a supreme commander. All eyes were instantly turned to the hero of the Peninsula—the consummate general who had never been tactically defeated and had never lost a gun, the leader of whom Napoleon said, “The Duke of Wellington is fully equal to myself in the management of an army, with the advantage of possessing more prudence.”

Yet Wellington was heavily handicapped. In contrast with the compact army opposed to him, consisting of veteran troops and inspired by ardent devotion to its leader, the generalissimo of the Allies had to make shift with a force made up not only of Englishmen and Hanoverians and other Germans, but also of the utterly untrustworthy material furnished by the Belgians and Dutch. Writing home officially, a week after Waterloo, he said, “I really believe that, with the exception of my old Spanish infantry, I have got not only the worst troops, but the worst-equipped army, with the worst staff that was ever brought together.”

His meaning must not be understood as involving the slightest disparagement of the personal qualities of his British and German troops. What was in his mind can be gathered without possibility of doubt. A fortnight before Waterloo he estimated his total strength as something over 70,000. But he afterwards declared that, of the infantry, there were only 35,000 on whom he could rely. This can only mean that the Belgians and Dutch were to be accounted as non-effective for his purpose. Many of the former had fought in Napoleon’s armies, and the people of Belgium in general were wholly indifferent, when not actively hostile, to the attempt of the European Powers to crush the French Emperor; while much the same may be said of the Dutch. As it was with the people, so it was with the soldiers, whose presence—as their heavy tale of

desertion testifies—was a source not merely of weakness, but even of positive danger.

Of the bravery of the British and German troops there was never any question. Wellington, on the morrow of Waterloo, repeatedly expressed his astonishment at the courage of his men, whose sole shortcoming was their inexperience. Only 6,000 or 7,000 of them had ever before smelt powder—the German troops being chiefly raw levies, and the English infantry being composed largely of youngsters, whose splendid courage and dogged tenacity was equalled only by their previous unfamiliarity with active service.

These considerations are of obvious historic importance. The Iron Duke himself said that he would have assumed the offensive in the great fight if only he had had his Peninsula veterans with him. In the circumstances he, perforce, adopted defensive tactics. On the other hand, Wellington's army was strong in leaders. He was, indeed, denied the aid of the one lieutenant he would have preferred, perhaps, to all others—Lord Combermere. But he was fortunate in such subordinates as Lord Hill, Sir Thomas Picton, Sir C. Grant, Sir H. Vivian, Sir O. Vandeleur, Sir Dennis Pack, and their German colleagues. For the rest, it was to his own consummate ability in the handling of his troops in the field, coupled with the absolute confidence with which he inspired all the loyal portion of his army, that Wellington owed his success at Quatre Bras and his victory at Waterloo.

The army under the Duke's command at the opening of the campaign had a nominal strength of 92,000 infantry (inclusive of 10,000 artillery and engineers), and 14,000 cavalry forming a separate unit under Lord Uxbridge. Of the former 12,000 were kept in garrison. The 70,000 fighting infantry were divided into three army corps—the first consisting of 25,000 men, under the young Prince

of Orange; the second, numbering 24,000, entrusted to Lord Hill. Each of these included two British and two Belgian divisions. The third or reserve corps, 21,000 strong, was retained by Wellington himself. The total number of guns was 204.

The scene of the fighting was to be once again the old "cockpit of Europe." Many of the salient features of former campaigns reappear—the place-names are as familiar as the essential strategic problems. Just as formerly, an invading French host, taking the offensive, crosses the frontier to overrun the country, while a mixed force, weakened by internal dissensions, is set to oppose it. As in the days of William of Orange, the military tactics of the Allies are hampered by the political necessity of safeguarding Brussels. Even in the details history repeats itself, and Napoleon's Imperial Guard enjoys the same kind of prestige as its predecessor, the *Maison de Roy*. On the other side, the Flanders campaign of 1815 was to deck with fresh laurels the Life Guards, who had earned so great distinction at Steenkirk and Landen, and the Blues, who had gained equal renown at Fontenoy and Bethencourt.

The field of the operations of June 15th–18th is contained within an oblong, in which Brussels and Philippeville mark the centres respectively of its longer northern and southern sides, while Tournay on the west and Liège on the east occupy similar positions on either of the two shorter sides of the rectangle. From Brussels, as from a centre, there radiate five main roads:—(1) Due west, through Ninove on the Dender, to Oudenarde on the Scheldt; (2) south-west to Hal, branching (a) westwards to Enghien, Ath on the Dender, and Tournay; (b) south-west to Brain-le-Comte, Soignies, and Mons on the Haine, whence a route lies due south to Maubeuge on the Sambre; (c) and south to Nivelles, where an easterly road leads to

Quatre Bras ; (3) due south to Waterloo, Genappe, Quatre Bras—with a south-easterly branch to Ligny—and Charleroi on the Sambre ; (4) south-east to Wavre, Gembloux, and Namur at the junction of the Sambre and Meuse, whence a road runs eastwards to Huy and Liège ; and (5) due east to Louvain, with a southern branch to Namur, and a south-eastern to Tirlemont, Hannut, and Huy.

Wellington, with his headquarters at Brussels, had the task of guarding the country west of the Brussels-Charleroi line. Lord Hill's headquarters were on the advanced right at Ath, thirty miles W.S.W. of Brussels, while those of the Prince of Orange were at Braine-le-Comte, rather less than twenty miles S.W. of Brussels. In advance of these positions, the frontier along the Haine eastwards as far as and beyond Mons was guarded by the Hanoverian and Dutch-Belgian cavalry.

The British and most of the Hanoverian cavalry were stationed along the Dender, from Ninove*—fifteen miles west of Brussels—to Grammont ; thus commanding the roads north-west to Oudenarde, south-west to Ath, and south-east to Enghien.

Wellington's right was watched with extreme vigilance, his line of communications extending to the sea, where

* On the declaration of war the strength of each of the Life Guards regiments was brought up to 589 men. Two squadrons of the First Regiment, commanded by Lt.-Col. Ferrier, two squadrons of the Second under the command of Lt.-Col. the Hon. E. P. Lygon, and two squadrons of the Blues—consisting of 22 officers, 19 corporals, 4 trumpeters, and 232 troopers—under Lt.-Col. Sir Robert Hill, were brigaded with four squadrons "K.D.G.'s" (*vide* CHAPTER LXVI., p. 601) under Major-General Lord E. Somerset. The Life Guards, disembarking at Ostend on May 3rd, marched by way of Brussels to their quarters at Meerbeck and Ninove, which they reached on the 10th. Meanwhile the Blues, landing a day later, advanced by the Bruges route to Leiderkirk and other villages near Ninove, where they too arrived on the 10th. On May 29th the whole of the British Cavalry and horse artillery—constituting Lord Uxbridge's division—were reviewed on the plain of Grammont by Wellington and Blücher.

Ostend was his primary, and Antwerp a secondary, source of supply from England. Hence the precautions which, up to the very last, and even at Waterloo itself, he continued to take against any surprise from that side.

On his left the Duke touched the Prussians, to whose care was assigned the whole of Flanders lying to the east of the line already named. By means of the army corps kept with him at headquarters, Wellington was in a position to reinforce either of his other two corps within twenty-four hours.

In the Prussian army under Blücher, which numbered about 112,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry, with 204 guns, only about half the infantry were seasoned troops; of the other half more than a third were raw levies, and of these again a considerable proportion had been newly drawn from countries recently under the French dominion, and some of them had actually fought in Napoleon's armies. The condition of the Prussian cavalry was even worse, and that of the artillery was hardly better. The whole was divided into four army corps, numbering approximately 30,000 men each. Blücher had his headquarters at Namur, at the junction of the Sambre and the Meuse, twenty miles east of Charleroi, and thirty west of Liège. Zieten's corps was at Charleroi, Thielmann's in an advanced position across the Meuse towards the frontier at Ciney, and Bülow's at Liège.

The whole line from Tournay eastwards to Liège, occupied jointly by British and Prussians, was 100 miles in length.

Blücher, at the age of 71, contrasted in this respect with Wellington, who was only 47, but his vigour was unabated. They were absolutely loyal to each other, and they met on several occasions to arrange for all possible eventualities.

If Napoleon could have waited till July, his troops would have been augmented in number by another quarter

of a million of men. On the other hand, he knew that by the beginning of July the Allies would be strengthened by the arrival of the Russians and Austrians. The Emperor, who dreaded an invasion of French soil, decided to take the offensive at once, and to begin hostilities in Flanders.

An attack on the Prussian communications beyond Liège was open to various objections. To menace those of the British on their right was more feasible, and this was the course Wellington considered probable. In point of fact, Napoleon chose to advance by the Charleroi road straight on Brussels. But, even when Wellington knew that the French were advancing direct on Brussels from the south, he was still on his guard lest the real attack should, after all, be either by the Tournai-Brussels road—a contingency provided for by placing Lord Hill at Ath; or by way of Mons and Braine-le-Comte, at which latter point he had stationed the Prince of Orange.

Napoleon saw that the Charleroi-Brussels route was not only the shortest, but that it struck the point of junction between the two Allied armies.

Moreover, as the Prussians were somewhat in advance of the British, he hoped to attack and defeat them first, and afterwards to turn his attention to the latter. His concentration on the frontier, between Philippeville and Maubeuge—about twenty-five miles eastwards on the Sambre—was effected with extraordinary secrecy. While the armies opposed to him were spread out over an immense area, he had quietly brought together 124,000 men, and arrived from Paris at the front on the night of June 14th. At Beaumont, the centre of his position, was the Imperial Guard, with the Third and Sixth Army Corps in front of them; the First and Second being to the left on the Sambre; the Fourth on the right at Philippeville.

Wellington, who was dependent on Blücher's officers for intelligence from the front concerning the enemy's

movements, was admirably served in this respect up to June 14th. Unhappily throughout nearly the whole of the next day the Prussians failed to send the British commander word either of the enemy's proceedings or of their own. Wellington, having heard nothing except that the French meant to attack, maintained his existing dispositions.

The Emperor made admirable arrangements for the orderly advance of his army on the 15th, in order that the different corps might arrive together at Charleroi the same day. The movement began at 3 a.m., the weak Prussian force alone available for resistance was easily driven back, and Charleroi was occupied by noon. Napoleon lost no time in pushing on towards Brussels. Gosselies, about five miles to the north, was at once attacked, the Prussians slowly retiring eastwards, and by 6 p.m. they had been driven back with loss on Fleurus, five miles distant.

In these operations the French force engaged was the right, commanded by Grouchy.

The left, entrusted to Ney, was ordered by the Emperor to continue the advance on the capital. A cavalry reconnaissance was made as far as Quatre Bras—eleven miles north of Charleroi, and only twenty from Brussels. At nightfall on the 15th, the Brussels road was already strongly held by the French left as far as Frasnes—about two and a half miles short of Quatre Bras; while the French right, facing eastwards, was opposed to the Prussians at Fleurus. Napoleon was intending to carry out on the morrow his twofold plan of “fending off” the British to the north at Quatre Bras, while he dealt the Prussians a crushing blow to the east. The strength of the latter, however, he seriously under-estimated, calculating that they had immediately in front of him only 40,000 men; and he also thought that Wellington would be unable to concentrate in time to offer effective resistance

to the French advance. The event in both cases showed him to be mistaken. Blücher had on the 15th amassed a large army—three out of his four corps—at Sombreffe, a position which he had specially chosen as the place where he would give battle to the enemy.

Meanwhile from three o'clock in the afternoon of the 15th Wellington was receiving at intervals a series of despatches announcing the French advance, but up to 6 p.m. he knew no more than that the movement was by Charleroi. He had heard nothing of the result of the fighting. He had still to guard against a possible approach by Mons. In issuing his first orders on June 15th the Duke had therefore to confine himself to enjoining all his troops to be ready to march. Next, as soon as he was sure that the enemy's movement upon Charleroi was the real attack, he ordered them to march to their left. Lastly, on the receipt of further news, he "directed the whole army to march on Les Quatre Bras." *

In accordance with these several orders, Lord Uxbridge first collected the cavalry at Ninove. At 10 p.m., when the concentration at Quatre Bras was decided on, the cavalry was ordered to proceed south to Enghien. Having issued his night orders, the Duke attended the memorable ball given at Brussels by the Duchess of Richmond. This he did deliberately and out of policy, to show a bold front to his opponents as well as to encourage his friends. The arrival during supper, at 10.30 p.m., of the news that the enemy was close to Quatre Bras made no practical difference, for Wellington had met the emergency by anticipation, and his troops were already marching with Quatre Bras as their objective. He knew that by the morning his whole right would have been drawn in, and would be

* So the Waterloo despatch. The "whole army" does not include the Hal and Tubize detachments. The meaning is that the whole movement was one of concentration on Quatre Bras.

holding in force Enghien, Braine-le-Comte, Nivelles, and Quatre Bras, so that he could resist an attack either on his left, at the latter place, or—if need be—on his centre. At the same time the force at Quatre Bras could easily be strengthened from Nivelles, and the reserve army corps at Brussels—already marching south to Waterloo—could be directed on the same point.

The Duke, who had gone to bed soon after 2 a.m. on June 16th, was roused at 4.30 to receive news which finally assured him that the Mons road was safe, and that he must concentrate at Quatre Bras. Fresh orders were issued, including one which directed the cavalry to continue their move to Braine-le-Comte. About 6 o'clock they started. During the whole morning they were marching eastwards, and passed through Nivelles at noon on their way to Quatre Bras, where, by quickening their pace when firing became audible, they arrived the same evening, though only after the fighting was over. Here they bivouacked for the night in some cornfields to the north of the farm.

To return to the situation at this point on the evening of the 15th. When the French made the reconnaissance already described, a Netherlands brigade under Prince Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, which had been posted at Frasnes, was forced back to Quatre Bras—a farmhouse close to the point where the Brussels-Charleroi road joins that running from Nivelles to Namur. At 9 p.m. the enemy, unable to effect anything more, retired to Frasnes. Prince Bernhard was reinforced at 3 a.m. next day, the 16th, by Perponcher's brigade from Nivelles; at 6 the Prince of Orange arrived, and succeeded during the morning in obtaining command of the cross roads. The position was held by this force of 6,800 men, with sixteen guns, until Wellington's reinforcements should arrive.

CHAPTER LXV

JUNE 16th lives in military annals as the date of the twin battles of Ligny and Quatre Bras, the two localities so named being only six miles apart. Marshal Prince Blücher had chosen Sombrefe for his main position, in front of which he held the villages of Ligny and St. Amand. The Prussian army, which consisted, as has been said, of only three out of its four corps—the Fourth, under Bülow, being still on its way from Liège—was 83,000 strong. The Emperor, who had at his disposal only 65,000 men, was wholly deceived as to his enemy's numbers, and confidently counted on driving Blücher back towards Namur.

Grouchy, who commanded the French right, with 50,000 men comprising the Third and Fourth corps, was ordered to move against Sombrefe. On the left Ney, who was instructed to operate at Quatre Bras with a view to an immediate march on Paris, had also nearly 50,000 men under his orders. The Emperor himself was to remain at Fleurus with the Imperial Guard in reserve, so as to be able to aid either wing.

Wellington, leaving Brussels at 7.30 a.m., reached Quatre Bras at 10 o'clock, and found the Prince of Orange's troops in advanced positions, awaiting Ney's attack. The British reserve was at this time on its way from Waterloo, and was due at Genappe at noon—at which hour, as already stated, the British cavalry passed through Nivelles.

The Duke at 1 o'clock rode over to Ligny to consult

Blücher, and was back at Quatre Bras at 2.30, having promised Blücher to come to his aid, provided he were not himself attacked. As it was, he effectually aided Blücher by holding Ney's large force.

The French attack on the Prussians began at 3 p.m. The Emperor's plan was to engage the Prussian left while surrounding and isolating their right. He soon discovered that it was the Prussian army, not merely a single corps, that he had to fight. At this he professed his delight, declaring that the issue of the war might now be decided in a few hours. Almost directly afterwards Ney sent to tell him that at Quatre Bras he was opposed by 20,000 men.* The battle presently raged around Ligny and the advanced villages of St. Amand and St. Amand-le-Haye.

On their right the Prussians, at first driven back, were rallied by Blücher and repulsed the enemy. The counter-assault being followed by another French onslaught, Blücher replied with another successful attack.

In the centre, the French, repelled at first, gained a footing after a second attack; but, meeting with some fresh Prussian troops, could make no further progress. On the Prussian left, the French cavalry effected no permanent result.

At 5 o'clock Napoleon determined to break through Blücher's centre, to overwhelm his right, and to drive his left towards Namur. For this task he summoned the Guard, stationed in the rear at Fleurus. At first the Prussians made a successful counter-movement against the enemy's left, and Blücher, summoning every available reserve, hoped to deliver, on this side, a decisive counter-

* This discovery restrained Ney from carrying out the Emperor's wish that the first Corps (d'Erlon's) should be sent to his support at Ligny. D'Erlon, distracted by conflicting orders, spent the whole day in wandering to and fro between the two battlefields.

stroke. Unfortunately, his centre, at Ligny, was thus deprived of the reserves it sorely needed. A supreme effort of the French against Ligny proved irresistible. At half-past seven they broke through the Prussian defence, which they overwhelmed at this point with superior numbers and with veteran troops. Blücher, heading a charge of cavalry, had his horse shot under him, and by nightfall the French had forced the Prussians to evacuate all their advanced positions, and to fall back on Sombreffe.

That, however, was the full extent of the Emperor's success. On the other hand, his losses were 8,500 as against the Prussian 6,000. The Prussian retreat was well covered, though effected in some disorder. During the night one corps, after having bivouacked at Sombreffe, moved eastward to Gembloux, where it joined other troops, and in the morning found itself within a couple of miles of the missing Fourth corps, just arrived from Liège. The other two Prussian corps had during the night marched three miles to the north-west as far as Tilly.

Whilst this action was being decided at Ligny, that at Quatre Bras was also in progress. The Prince of Orange, holding the cross roads, made the farm-building his base. Eastwards was the Namur road—the line of communication with the Prussians; westwards ran the road to Nivelles; to the rear stretched the road from Genappe and Waterloo, along which reinforcements from the reserve corps were on their way; in front lay that from Charleroi, along which Ney was momentarily expected to advance to the attack.

To the right of this road Perponcher's Dutch troops held the Bossu wood, which stretched southwards for a

mile, leaving a narrow strip of open land between itself and the road. About a mile down the road, and on its left, stood the farm of Gemioncourt—the centre of the Allied position; while to the east of it, and slightly in advance, was the farm of Piraumont. Both were occupied by Netherlands troops, whose number was raised by the arrival of a reinforcement from Nivelles to a total of 7,200 infantry with 16 guns.

Napoleon's optimism, which induced him to underrate the strength of the Allies, coupled with a perplexing conflict of orders, condemned Ney to inaction till 2 p.m., when Bachelu's and Foy's divisions of Reille's corps arrived, and at once commenced the attack. Both Piraumont and Gemioncourt were soon captured, and as the beaten defenders crossed the road towards the wood, Piré's lancers charged them with disastrous effect. So far the Allied right and centre were both defeated.

Happily, at this juncture the Allies received reinforcements—some Netherlands cavalry from Nivelles and, which was infinitely more important, Picton's division from Waterloo—the latter made up of three brigades, of which Kempt's and Pack's were British, and Best's Hanoverian. The British were at once aligned along the Namur *chaussée*, Pack's right resting on Quatre Bras. His brigade included the first battalion of the 42nd Regiment, the second of the 44th, and the first of the 92nd. Kempt's, drawn up to the left of Pack's, was composed of the first battalions of the 28th, the 79th, and the 95th Regiments—the last-named being on the extreme left. The Hanoverians were posted in the rear, and a battery was assigned to either flank. The Netherlands cavalry, being sent forward to support its retreating infantry, was quickly routed by Piré's lancers, who at once turned to crush a Dutch battalion and also captured eight guns.

Ney was now reinforced by Prince Jérôme Bonaparte's division, which, deploying on the left, promptly took some buildings in front of the Bossu wood, and then proceeded slowly to clear the wood itself; while Wellington was joined by the Brunswickers, so that he now had 19,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 30 guns, to Ney's 16,000 infantry, 1,700 cavalry, and 38 guns.

When Ney renewed the attack, the Netherlands troops yielded on the right, while on the left the British maintained their ground. Some Brunswick foot and horse were then sent along the strip of open ground next the Charleroi road, on the west, but were driven back and their Duke killed. The whole French line then advanced on Quatre Bras. When, however, Bachelu, on the right, reached the British line, the old and well-tried expedient of the British infantry was once more employed with excellent result. Picton's men waited quietly till the enemy had approached quite close, and then poured in a volley with deadly effect. The French wavered, when the British, at the call of Picton, charged with the bayonet, and drove the enemy back beyond Gemioncourt. Here, however, a heavy artillery and infantry fire forced the pursuers first to halt and then to retire. The French cavalry instantly seized the opportunity to charge, Piré's chasseurs dashing furiously against two of Kempt's regiments, the 28th and 79th, who beat off the attack in a way which elicited Wellington's special praise. The remaining regiment of the brigade, the 95th, also rendered a good account of some of Piré's lancers. The main body of the French lancers—hurled against Pack, before either the 42nd or 44th were able to form square—met with no better success. They were driven off, and Wellington was quick to congratulate the 42nd and 95th on a fine bit of work.

By five o'clock Kellermann's brigade of cuirassiers had

joined Ney. The Marshal, perplexed and worried by Napoleon's repeated demands that he should quickly dispose of the enemy in front of him, and then come to aid the Emperor at Ligny, ordered Kellermann to charge Wellington's positions. But the Duke had just been further reinforced by Halkett's brigade—belonging to Alten's division in the Prince of Orange's corps, and composed of the 33rd Regiment and the second battalions of the 30th, 69th, and 73rd—and also by Kielmansegge's Hanoverian brigade in the same division. Wellington had now 24,000 infantry and 42 guns. The Hanoverians took up position in support of the 95th on the extreme left; Halkett was posted in the strip of land from which the Dutch and the Brunswickers had successively been dislodged.

Once more Bachelu and Foy advanced against Pack, in whose brigade the 42nd and 44th had now been combined into one battalion, so that the brunt of the attack was borne by the 92nd, which flung back the enemy with a brilliant bayonet charge.

The 69th was sent from Halkett to Pack's assistance, while the 33rd and 30th advanced along the strip of land in the centre. Pack, seeing that a cavalry charge was threatened by Kellermann and Piré, formed his own battalions in square, and gave the same order to the 69th, who were attached to his brigade. The Prince of Orange, to whose army corps the 69th belonged, took upon himself to countermand the order, with the result that, the charge of the French cuirassiers finding them in line, the unfortunate 69th were overpowered and suffered a loss of 150 men. It is difficult not to think that, in subsequently including the Prince of Orange amongst those who "highly distinguished themselves," the British commander may have been referring to the sort of "distinction" which belongs to pre-eminent ineptitude and presumption.

Fortunately the officers in command of the 30th and 73rd ignored their youthful superior's order to remain in line. They formed square, and inflicted a galling fire on Kellermann's cavalry. Meanwhile the 33rd, which had been pushed forward to the front along the strip of land, had to seek cover in the Bossu wood from the enemy's guns.

The French cuirassiers had succeeded in reaching the Quatre Bras cross-roads; but here they were suddenly checked, not only by the heavy flank fire of the British infantry, but by a German battery in front, which had just arrived on the field. The enemy's horse were repulsed in confusion, as also were about one-half of their foot; the advance of the other half being at the same time arrested.

The moment for Wellington to assume the offensive had come at last. It was now seven o'clock, and at this critical juncture there had opportunely arrived the Guards' division under Cook, who had with him Maitland's brigade—composed of the second and third battalions of the Grenadier Guards, and Byng's brigade—made up of the second battalions of the Coldstream and Scots Guards, with several batteries of Adye's artillery.

Supported by the Guards in the Bossu wood, as well as beyond it on the extreme right, the Brunswickers and Halkett's brigade proved too strong for Piré's cavalry; the whole of the enemy's line was forced back, and Wellington's army stood masters of the position.

Wellington's victory was won, not indeed against numerical odds, but under the great disadvantage that a large proportion of his force—the Dutch-Belgians—were utterly untrustworthy, so that to rely on them was to lean on a broken reed. His losses and Ney's were about the same—4,500 men.

The British commander, notwithstanding the success he had thus gained over the French left, was unable to

follow it up. The French right, on its side, made no effort to pursue Blücher. Napoleon, having lost touch with the Prussians—who, without his being aware of it, had made a rapid concentration upon Wavre, fifteen miles south-east of Brussels and ten miles east of Waterloo—sent Grouchy to deal with Blücher, and decided to turn the major part of his forces against the great general who had so often defeated his marshals, and whom all Europe had chosen as the one leader fit to cope with the Emperor himself.

On his side Wellington saw that Blücher's withdrawal northwards—of which he did not hear till 7.30 next morning—rendered necessary a corresponding movement on his part. To have stayed at Quatre Bras would have meant another attack by Ney in front, in combination with an advance by the Emperor along the Namur *chaussée*.

At an early hour on the 17th the Duke rode out from Genappe, where he had slept, to Quatre Bras. There he found that, since yesterday's battle, other troops had arrived, including the English cavalry, making a total of 45,000 men. Wellington at once sent a message to Blücher to the effect that he was about to withdraw northwards; that, without Prussian support, he must fall back on Brussels;* but that, if assured of the support of even one Prussian corps, he would give battle at Mont St. Jean. Blücher replied with a promise of two corps. Accordingly at ten o'clock on the morning of June 17th the Allied army commenced its retreat from Quatre Bras.

* As will be seen later on, there is evidence to show that, in the event of his being worsted at Waterloo, Wellington intended to retire, not upon Brussels, but towards the sea-coast.

CHAPTER LXVI

THE Allied troops present at Quatre Bras on the morning of June 17th numbered, as has been noted, 45,000 men. Of this total a large proportion was, to say the least, ineffective. The British included Cook's Division of the Guards, Alten's and Picton's Divisions of British infantry, and the whole of Uxbridge's cavalry except Arentsschildt's brigade. The first cavalry brigade,* commanded by Lord Edward Somerset, consisted of the First and Second Life Guards, the Royal Horse Guards (Blue), and the First Dragoon Guards—the latter regiment being included on account of the numerical insufficiency of the Life Guards.† The second cavalry brigade, Ponsonby's, was called the "Union" brigade, because made up of the English "Royals," the Scots Greys, and the Irish Inniskillings.

* On May 19th Wellington wrote to Lord Uxbridge that he understood the Household Brigade had on one occasion claimed to have their brigade major selected from among themselves; that he had resisted this then as they had no one fit for the duty, but that if there was any eligible officer he should be chosen, and that anyhow Lord Edward Somerset should be consulted.

† Colonel Sir H. Torrens, military secretary to the Duke of York, wrote to Wellington on April 21st, 1815:—"In reference to what I said to you respecting the inefficiency in numbers of the Household Brigade, the four squadrons of the First Dragoon Guards have been ordered to be attached to it." The numerical weakness of the Household Brigade is evident from two earlier letters. On April 14th Torrens wrote, "You shall have three squadrons of the Blues (say 360) in about ten days." But on April 16th he says, "Two squadrons from the Blues, and two from each of the regiments of the Life Guards, are to form a brigade for your army. . . . The brigade will be a very small one in the first instance."

Dornberg's (the third) included the 23rd Dragoons and two German regiments; Vandeleur, commanding the fourth, had under him the 11th Hussars, and the 12th and 16th Lancers; Grant, in the fifth brigade, led the 7th and 15th Hussars; and the sixth brigade, under Vivian, was composed of the 10th and 18th Hussars, and a German regiment.

Lord Hill's corps, five miles off at Nivelles, started for Waterloo at ten o'clock. It included Adam's brigade (1/52nd, 1/71st, 2/95th, and 3/95th) with their German and Hanoverian comrades, and Mitchell's brigade (3/14th, 1/23rd, and 51st).

The force at Quatre Bras was to reach Waterloo by way of the defile of Genappe, the rear-guard being furnished by Alten's division, composed of Halkett's, Ompteda's, and Kielmansegge's brigades, with some other infantry. To the cavalry was entrusted the task of covering the retreat of the rear-guard. The cavalry division was formed at one o'clock in three lines in rear of Quatre Bras, and retired in three columns by by-roads through Baisy and Thy to Genappe.

At 1.30 p.m. the Emperor in person, moving up the Namur *chaussée* with the Guards and Lobau's division—which had not been engaged at Ligny—and with a large force of cavalry, was already within two miles of Quatre Bras. Drawing nearer, he was confronted by the British cavalry with several guns. Wellington's infantry was by this time well on its way north, the cavalry being now ordered to follow. The movement was well arranged and well carried out, and as the Allied army gained Genappe the cavalry effectually kept the enemy in check.

Having crossed the river by the bridge, the Household Cavalry Brigade and Artillery halted on the *chaussée* about 700 yards beyond the gates of Genappe. The 7th Hussars, with the 23rd Light Dragoons in support, were halted

only 250 yards from the town. Presently the French Lancers appeared out of the town, and the 7th were ordered to charge them, which they did "most gallantly," as Lord Uxbridge testified. The French lancers, however, drove the British hussars back, and the 7th, though twice rallied, each time found the enemy, who was now reinforced, too strong for them. Uxbridge thereupon withdrew the 7th, which had lost heavily, and ordered the 23rd to take up the task. As the latter, however, showed some disinclination for the job, they were ordered to leave the road clear, Uxbridge exclaiming, "The Life Guards shall have this honour." Two squadrons of the First Regiment were at once summoned, and Lord Uxbridge has recorded that, "gallantly led by Major Kelly, they came on with right good will." As they thundered down the hill, the Life Guards bore all before them, riding over and scattering the French lancers, and never reining in their big horses till they had cleared the enemy's cavalry right out of Genappe.* That was the end of all attempts to hinder the British army from reaching the battlefield which its leader, many months before, had fixed upon.

Meanwhile Wellington still kept an eye on Hal, eight miles west of Waterloo. Besides a number of the Netherlands troops, he ordered that part of Colville's division which had been stationed at Braine-le-Comte—consisting of Johnstone's brigade (2/35th, 1/54th, 2/59th, and 1/91st) and Lyon's Hanoverians—to move up the Mons-Brussels road to Hal. This vigilant care for his right had, as has been pointed out, been dictated originally by the possibility

* The Duke, who had just sat down to dinner when an urgent message came that his presence was required, now in high good humour carried off Lord Uxbridge to share his meal. Nevertheless, he told somebody afterwards that the cavalry would have had no more trouble during the march than the infantry had previously, if Lord Uxbridge had not unnecessarily attacked the enemy's lancers.

of an attack on that flank, and to the last this force of 18,000 men was kept at Hal and Tubize with a view to that contingency. From Waterloo at 3 a.m. on the 18th Wellington wrote to the Duc de Berry at Ghent:—
 “It is possible that the enemy may turn us at Hal, although I have Prince Frederick’s corps in position between Hal and Enghien.” He begged the Duc de Berry, in that event, to march on Antwerp. To Lady Frances Webster in Brussels† he offered this advise:—
 “The course of the operations may oblige me to uncover Bruxelles for a moment, and may expose that town to the enemy; for which reason I recommend that you and your family should be prepared to move on Antwerp at a moment’s notice.”

If anything should go wrong at Waterloo, Wellington had determined to retreat, not on Brussels, but towards Ostend and the sea. In after years he expressly denied that his base of operations was Brussels. On December 8th, 1825, while dining with Mr. Littleton at Teddesley, he said, “I never contemplated a retreat on Brussels. Had I been forced from my position, I should have retreated to my right, towards the coast, the shipping, and my resources. . . . Could Napoleon have ventured to follow me? The Prussians, already on his flank, would have been on his rear.”‡

On June 17th the weather held up during the British march of eight miles to Waterloo, while when the French followed, a heavy storm made marching difficult. During the night of June 17th–18th it still rained in torrents. The rain, which ceased after sunrise, rendered the ground so sodden that Napoleon’s operations were delayed for four hours by the non-arrival of a part of his army.

* *Despatches*, xii. 477.

† *Suppl. Despatches*, x. 501.

‡ *Apsley House MSS.*, Lord Hatherton (formerly Mr. Littleton).

The morning of June 18th found neither of the great rival commanders in the best of tempers. Napoleon, who was out and about at an early hour, was heard to mutter, "At last I am going to measure myself against this Wellington!" While breakfasting, he snapped Ney's head off for hazarding an opinion that the English showed apparent signs of retreating, and that the attack ought to be hastened. The unfortunate Soult was crushed with the sneer, "You think this Wellington a great general because he beat *you*!" Wellington on his side showed irritation when Uxbridge—whom perhaps he somewhat disfavoured for filling the place he had desired for Combermere*—as next senior officer asked him what his plans were, in case anything should happen to the Duke. "Plans," exclaimed Wellington, "I have no plans, except to give that fellow a d——d good licking!"

The field of battle may be described roughly as a fairly level valley sloping gently upwards to a northern and a southern ridge. Down the centre of it ran the Brussels-Charleroi *chaussée*, intersecting the northern ridge at Mont St. Jean, which was Wellington's centre, and the southern ridge at Rossomme, where were Napoleon's headquarters. The line of French infantry was distributed on either side

* 1815, April 16th. Sir H. Torrens wrote to the Duke:—"I have given Lord Combermere a full explanation of the circumstances attending the appointment of Lord Uxbridge, who is in great delight at the prospect of serving under you." Wellington, on May 5th, wrote to Lord Bathurst from Brussels that he took exception to the way in which he had been treated by the Horse Guards with reference to Staff appointments. He thought the Generals and Staff who had served him well in the Peninsula should have been allowed to attend him again; instead of which, he found himself "overloaded" with people he had never seen before, while the officers he wished for were kept out of the way. He fully recognised the right of the Duke of York as Commander-in-Chief to appoint to the Staff whom he pleased, but confessed himself unable to be satisfied with these appointments until he had tested the individuals. (*Suppl. Despatches*). Both Lord Combermere and Lord Anglesey were afterwards Gold Sticks.

of the Charleroi road. To the right was D'Erlon's corps, composed of four infantry divisions, behind whom were Milhaud's cuirassiers, and in rear of these the light cavalry of the Guard. At the extreme right was Jacquinet's cavalry. On the left side of the road was Reille's corps, made up of three infantry divisions. In its rear were Kellermann's cavalry, behind whom were Guyot's; the extreme left being guarded by Piré's cavalry.

The point of junction between the two corps was at the tavern of La Belle Alliance, less than a mile in front of Rossomme. A strong reserve was drawn up in rear of the French centre, consisting of the whole of Lobau's corps, and Domon's and Subervie's cavalry; while behind all was stationed the Imperial Guard. On the right of Rossomme was the village of Planchenoit.

Wellington's disposition of his troops followed for three miles the ridge of Mont St. Jean, along which ran the road leading to Wavre on the east, and the village of Braine l'Alleud on the west. His extreme left was guarded by two cavalry brigades—Vivian's, in which were the 10th and 13th Hussars and a German regiment; and Vandeleur's, which was composed of the 11th Hussars and the 12th and 16th Lancers; then came the infantry in the following order—Prince Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar with his Nassauers, Vincke's Hanoverians, Best's Hanoverians, Pack's brigade, Kempt's brigade (with Bijlandt's Dutch-Belgians in front, across the road). Lambert's brigade (1/4th, 1/27th, 1/40th, and 2/81st) was held in reserve in the rear until called upon later to take its place in the line on the hasty retreat of the Dutch-Belgians. All these were to the east of the Charleroi *chaussée*.

To the west were Ompteda's men of the German legion, then Kielmansegge's Hanoverians, and next Halkett's brigade. To the right of these again was Cook's division, composed of Maitland's and Byng's brigades of Guards.

In reserve at this point were Mitchell's and Adam's brigades. Supporting the Guards were Grant's and Dornberg's cavalry. In rear of the centre were placed, on either side of the *chaussée*, the Household Brigade of Cavalry on the right, and the "Union" cavalry brigade on the left.

In the valley in front of the British right was the *château* of Hougomont, held by Byng's Guards.* Immediately in front of the British centre, at a distance of 300 yards, was the farm of La Haye Sainte, garrisoned by German troops. On the left front lay a group of farms and buildings—Papelotte, La Haye, and Frischermont.

The total number of Wellington's troops has been estimated at 49,700 infantry, 12,400 cavalry, and 156 guns; but his effective strength, owing to the thorough disloyalty of the Dutch-Belgians, was really no more than 36,300 infantry, 9,200 cavalry, and 124 guns, as against Napoleon's force of 52,600 infantry, 14,900 cavalry, and 266 guns.†

* Byng's brigade consisted of the 2nd battalion Coldstream and 2nd battalion Scots and the two light companies of Maitland's brigade—*i.e.* of the 2nd and 3rd battalions Grenadiers. A regiment of Nassauers and two companies of Hanoverians brought the numbers of the Hougomont garrison to 1,500 men.

† The large force which Napoleon had detached under Grouchy's command could not under any circumstances have reached Waterloo before 7 p.m. As matters stood, Grouchy, to whom the firing at Waterloo was audible, deemed it his duty to continue his march to Wavre.

CHAPTER LXVII

THE Emperor's fixed determination was to break through his adversary's centre, so as to cut off the greater part of Wellington's force from a junction with Blücher. This involved a frontal attack on the British position. The whole of the action on the western side of the field was dominated from beginning to end by the development of the situation at Hougomont. The Emperor's first order was for a general attack to be delivered at 1 p.m. by the infantry. D'Erlon, on the right, moved forward, with results to be detailed presently. Reille, on the left, was at once confronted by the Hougomont obstacle. Jérôme's brigade operated on the west of the *château*, and Foy's on the south. The guns of Piré's cavalry division took part in the attack, as did some of the artillery of the Guard. The fighting here went on all day, with the net result that, though the French succeeded in forcing back the Hanoverian and Nassau skirmishers from the outlying wood, they never captured the buildings, nor drove the Guards from the north wall, which commanded the nearer grounds. Meanwhile, Reille's pre-occupation with the attack on Hougomont effectually prevented his advance against the right of the British line. Thus a comparatively small number of British kept well occupied—and inflicted severe losses on—a large part of the enemy's force.*

* *The Story of Hougomont*—justly described as “a battle within a battle”—has been vividly and veraciously narrated in the *Household Brigade Magazine* for October, 1907, by Lt.-Col. E. Macartney-Filgate. No better account of this glorious episode has perhaps been penned.

On the right, D'Erlon's corps, under Ney's eye, seemed for a time to have better fortune. After a tremendous cannonade from the eighty guns posted on a low eminence facing the British left, D'Erlon's four divisions advanced in *échelon* against Wellington's left centre. During their advance they suffered a good deal from the British artillery fire. The grounds of La Haye Sainte were captured by Allix's division of the French infantry, in whose support a portion of Milhaud's cuirassiers had been pushed forward, diverging slightly to the left. Elated with their success in putting to flight some young Hanoverian troops sent by Wellington to reinforce the garrison of La Haye Sainte, the French cavalry turned their attention to the part of the British infantry line posted on the ridge above. Lord Uxbridge, who was in command of the whole of the cavalry, and to whom Wellington had given *carte blanche*, was instantly on the alert, and prepared both his heavy cavalry brigades to charge simultaneously.

The Household Brigade, under Lord Edward Somerset, on the right of the high road, was formed up in line, the First Dragoon Guards—the strongest in point of numbers—in the centre, with the First Life Guards on their right, and the Second Life Guards on their left (next the high road), and the Blues in support. Lord Uxbridge committed the error of leading the charge of one brigade, thereby losing the supreme control of the division. The ground was much broken, and the going difficult. The infantry line having made room for them to pass, they reached the Wavre road, where, again forming, the whole brigade instantly charged down the slope upon Milhaud's cuirassiers and some of Allix's infantry. Of these latter, whose overthrow was completed by the charge of the "Union" brigade, 2,000—some accounts say 3,000—prisoners, with two eagles, were captured.

The cuirassiers had come up towards the crest of the British position on the west side of La Haye Sainte. The First Life Guards, with a part of the King's, drove them back past the farm. Major Kelly,* of the First Life Guards, told a friend that the Brigade and the cuirassiers "came to the shock like two walls, in the most perfect lines he ever saw." The English swords were under the disadvantage of being six inches shorter than the French. On the other hand, the armour worn by the French proved no real defence against their assailants, who, if occasionally finding their swords rendered ineffective by the breast-plates of the cuirassiers, took to cutting at the exposed parts of their persons. The vigorous blows of the Life Guards not seldom pierced their adversaries' armour, and in some instances clove their helmets right through. The First Life Guards, testifies the same authority, "made great slaughter amongst the flying cuirassiers who had choked the hollow way" (beyond La Haye Sainte). "Its banks," he continues, "were then crowned by chasseurs, who fired down upon the Life Guards in return, killing great numbers of them," so that the road was "quite blocked up by dead." Colonel Ferrier, in command of the Regiment, was killed after he had led his men to the charge no less than eleven times—most of the charges being made after his head had been severely wounded by a sabre cut and his body pierced with a lance. The famous Corporal Shaw met his death by a gunshot, after being "very conspicuous, dealing deadly blows all round him." One

* Kelly himself performed prodigies of strength and valour. He engaged in a single combat with an officer of cuirassiers, whom, after a desperate struggle, he despatched by running his sabre through his neck. Kelly's own life was saved by the power and hardiness of his charger. Two years previously the Duke of Wellington had specially arranged that Captain Kelly, then at the Military College, should be employed on the staff of the Q.M.G. in the Peninsula. See the APPENDIX.



OFFICER, 1ST LIFE GUARDS.
From an Old Print.

account states that he slew or disabled ten of the enemy before he was killed.

The main body of the First Dragoon Guards, who formed the centre of the brigade line, on approaching La Haye Sainte charged the cuirassiers in front of them. This section of the enemy, unable to retreat the way it had come, owing to the congestion at this point, skirted the north side of the farm in order to escape down the high road. This, however, they found blocked by an *abatis*; they therefore crossed the *chaussée* and sought to retreat by their right, being further incommoded by a gravel-pit which left but little room for them to pass. They were closely pursued by the "K.D.G.'s," who crossed the high road after them.

On the left of the British charging line the Second Life Guards, who did not get into action so soon as the "K.D.G.'s," swerved to their left, crossed the *chaussée*, and so passed to the left of La Haye Sainte. These two regiments, driving the cuirassiers before them, unfortunately advanced too far ahead, and failed to obey the order to retire, though given by both voice and trumpet. By this time they had got mixed up with Ponsonby's brigade; they were already scattered and exhausted when called upon to defend themselves against some fresh French cavalry. So far, indeed, had they penetrated that they had reached the slight eminence in front of the British left whence the tremendous cannonade, mentioned above, had just proceeded. Here they not only came upon a masked battery of twenty guns, but encountered a heavy fire from some French infantry occupying the position. They suffered very heavily in the retreat, Colonel Fuller, commanding the "K.D.G.'s," being amongst those who fell.

There is good authority for the statement that the Blues, at the commencement of the charge, were in the second line, although their commander, Sir Robert Hill,

always denied that such was the case. At any rate, they were in the front line as the action developed. Like the First Life Guards, they operated to the right of La Haye Sainte, where they lost Major Packe, who, while leading on a squadron, was run through the body by the French officer commanding the opposing squadron. Fortunately for their comrades, the Blues were kept well in hand, and, being in comparatively good order, were able effectively to aid the withdrawal of the rest of the Brigade.*

Lord Edward Somerset, the Brigadier, had a narrow escape. His horse was killed, and he had only just time to creep through a hedge and clamber on to another horse before the enemy were upon him.†

General Shaw-Kennedy says of this charge that it was "the only fairly tested fight of cavalry against cavalry during the day. It was a fair meeting of two bodies of heavy cavalry, each in perfect order." Gronow declared that it was "the severest hand-to-hand cavalry fight in the memory of man." Lord Anglesey—formerly Lord Uxbridge—said that "the impetuosity and weight of the Life Guards carried all before them." In the opinion of many observers, the battle was more than once restored by the timely operations of the cavalry; and, had not the heavy part of it been employed, no successful resistance could have been made against the enormous masses of the enemy's cavalry, which doubled the British in numbers.

* Lieutenant Tathwell, of the Blues, was taken prisoner and subjected to gross indignity. A wounded French officer had him brought up alongside of him and kicked him several times. The French soldiers forming the escort expressed their indignation at their brutal officer's conduct. (Gronow's *Recollections*.)

† "'Where is your brigade?' said Sir Hussey Vivian to Lord Edward Somerset. 'Here,' replied Somerset, as, pointing to a band of horsemen, and then to the ground covered with dead and dying, clad in red, and with mutilated horses wandering or turning in circles, he displayed to him the wreck of what had been the Household and Union Brigades." (*Life of Lord Vivian*.)

When the charge was over Lord Uxbridge—who candidly confessed that he ought not to have led it in person—was returning to his former position. "I met," he writes, "the Duke of Wellington, surrounded by all the *corps diplomatique militaire*, who, from the high ground, had witnessed the whole affair. The plain appeared to be swept clean, and I never saw so joyous a group as this *troupe dorée*. They thought the battle was over."* When the Life Guards returned from the charge, the Commander-in-Chief saluted them, saying, "Thank you, Life Guards!"

Lord Uxbridge claimed for the charge that during the rest of the day, "although the cuirassiers attempted again to break into our lines, they always did it *mollement*, and as if they expected something behind the curtain."

Meanwhile, as already stated, the other body of heavy cavalry—the Union Brigade, under the command of Ponsonby—was also ordered to charge the enemy to the east of the high road. In front of them the infantry line was occupied by Picton's division, of which the two British brigades were Kempt's on the right, and Pack's next to it.

Against Picton was advancing Donzelot's infantry division, the second *échelon* of d'Erlon's corps. Picton had recourse to his old tactics. He brought Kempt's men to the crest, gave the infantry a single deadly volley, and then ordered a charge with the bayonet, at the same moment meeting his own death. Thus Donzelot's attack was repelled by the British infantry.

Meanwhile the third *échelon*, Marcognet's division, now advancing to the crest, confronted Pack's Highland brigade. The French were received with a terrific fire, which checked their advance. It was at this juncture that the Union Brigade, charging down the slope, routed Donzelot's

* Siborne, *Waterloo Letters*, p. 9.

and Marcognet's infantry and repelled a mass of French cavalry. Unfortunately they also, like their comrades of the Household Cavalry, got out of hand, penetrated too far, and were obliged to retire with the loss of their leader, Ponsonby. They had done splendid work against the French gunners, but suffered much from the enemy's lancers and cuirassiers, and would have suffered more but for the timely intervention of the 12th and 16th Lancers from Vandeleur's brigade.

The fourth and last of d'Erlon's *échelons*, Durutte's division, threatened Best's and Vincke's Hanoverians on the Allied left, but were driven off by a charge of Vandeleur's light brigade. Thus d'Erlon's great infantry attack on the right had proved a failure, while Reille's on the left had developed into the sanguinary but still unsuccessful siege of Hougomont.

The next phase of the battle was the great attack of the French cavalry upon the right centre of the British infantry line. It was brought about under remarkable circumstances. Napoleon knew that the Prussians were now only a few miles distant. The British must be overwhelmed at once. To effect this, it was essential to capture La Haye Sainte. There was a renewal of the great cannonade—chiefly against the British right. Again d'Erlon's infantry—with Ney at their head—pressed forward. The farm still held out, but the French infantry gained the ridge. Wellington's troops had been ordered to lie down on the slope beyond to avoid the heavy fire. Ney, seeing them disappear, mistakenly thought they were retreating, and sent for a single brigade of cavalry. Milhaud promptly came with two whole divisions; but instead of the expected task of cutting up a broken and retreating infantry, the French cavalry found themselves confronted by British squares bristling with steel and pouring forth deadly volleys. Napoleon, from a distance,

perceived the mistake, but determined to despatch Kellermann's cavalry to support Milhaud, who already had with him besides the light cavalry of the Guard.

It was now about 4 p.m., and the British line was called upon to sustain an onset which every moment seemed to threaten overwhelming disaster. Wellington, anxious for the safety of his centre, sent to Uxbridge for cavalry to be posted there. Asked continually for instructions, he declared that he had none to give, save that everybody was to hold firm. The British squares were in two lines, placed chequer-fashion—an arrangement which broke the regular formation of the charging enemy. The French cavalry came on line after line, like a succession of waves, yet not a single square was broken. At last, after many attempts, and harassed by the British guns—of which sixty-two had just been brought up from the left to the right—and by the fire from the squares, the enemy were driven down the slope, being further discomfited by the continual charges of the 7th and 15th Hussars and some German horse of Grant's brigade.

As an offset to this repulse, the French had captured La Haye Sainte, whence the reduced garrison, having no more ammunition, retired—the farm now becoming a fresh point from which the British line could be attacked. At the British right centre Kielmansegge's and Ompteda's brave Hanoverians were much weakened in numbers. Behind them, spread out so as to make its now scanty line bulk as largely as possible, was ranged Uxbridge's heavy cavalry—the remains of the sadly diminished Household and Union Brigades combined in one. To their right, and in rear of Halkett's British brigade and Maitland's brigade of Guards, was massed Vivian's light cavalry. Still farther to the right, in the rear, was Vandeleur. Dörnberg's cavalry (the 23rd Dragoons and two German regiments), with Grant's in front of it, was on the slope

behind Hougomont, in support of Byng's brigade of Guards, who had so gallantly held that position all day.

By this time the Prussians were close at hand. Napoleon still held a whole army corps in reserve—Lobau's, which, with the eight battalions of the Young Guard and two of the Old, Durutte's infantry division, and the cavalry of Domon and Subervie, was ordered to resist the Prussian advance on the French right.

About 4.30 p.m. Bülow's, Pirch's, and Zieten's corps began to attack the French in flank, Thielmann's having been left at Wavre to face Grouchy.

The Emperor believed that he had still a chance of victory, and determined on a supreme effort to crush Wellington and his weakened army. Not only was the British left still faced by d'Erlon's corps with Milhaud's cavalry in support; not only, on Reille's side, could Bachelu co-operate with Jérôme and Foy in a renewed assault on Hougomont, with Kellermann's cavalry available for emergencies; but there were still fourteen battalions of the Old Guard at the Emperor's disposal. A strong force drawn from these, to the number of 4,500 men—all veterans, he determined to launch against the British right. Of the fourteen battalions three were kept in the rear as the Emperor's bodyguard; two, composed of the Grenadiers of the Guard, remained astride of the high road at La Belle Alliance; while two more were stationed close to the projecting eastward corner of Hougomont. In the middle of one of these latter was the Emperor himself, watching the result of his final *coup*.

Seven battalions of the Guard delivered the attack, moving forward in *echelon* from the right, with guns between them, on the west side of the central *chaussée*. The leading battalion—that nearest the road—was led by Ney against Halkett's brigade (30th and 73rd); the next four battalions were pitted against Maitland's brigade—

the 2nd and 3rd battalions Grenadier Guards.* These five battalions, after suffering considerably from the British artillery, found the infantry formed in line four deep, and were received, first, with a disastrous volley, then with a running fire,† and lastly with a bayonet charge driven home. This was decisive: the Imperial Guard had failed.

The two supporting battalions now essayed to come to the rescue. Their fate was to fall into a veritable death-trap; for Maitland's brigade was wheeled forward on the left so as to face the enemy due south; while the 52nd—a battalion 1,000 strong—wheeled forward on its right to face eastwards: the two were at right angles, and the hapless enemy were situated in the field of their cross-fire. The result was irremediable disaster; the Imperial Guard was beaten and in retreat. The Emperor, whom somebody had informed that the ridge had been carried, peered through his field-glass. “*Mais ils sont mêlés!*” he exclaimed. The dire news that the Guard was retiring flashed round the French divisions. The end had come!

The triumphant 52nd and the rest of Adams's brigade marched right across the battlefield to attack the only two remaining battalions of the Imperial Guard at La Belle Alliance.

The sun was setting as Wellington advanced to the ridge where his men had fought all day, and, holding his field-marshal's hat aloft as the signal, ordered a forward movement of the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. Vivian and Vandeleur's light cavalry, which had been moved from the left to the right rear, charged after the retreating French. Soon

* Till Waterloo they were called the First British Guards. They were re-named Grenadier Guards in honour of the victory they won over Napoleon's Grenadiers of the Guard.

† The Guards departed from their old Fontenoy expedient of platoon-firing by battalions: the rear ranks on this occasion loading for their comrades in front.

afterwards the Prussians, hitherto unsuccessful, forced back the French right. Wellington had counted on the Prussians coming to his aid earlier in the day. After a hard march over difficult country, their leading troops only reached the left of the British line at 7 o'clock.

Wellington wrote that, after a momentary halt to clear away some of the enemy, his whole line moved forward again on to the French position, which was at once abandoned, 150 cannon, with their ammunition, being left behind. The cavalry was ordered to charge and move round the flanks of the infantry, which was pursuing the enemy in columns. After dark the pursuit was carried on by the Prussians beyond Quatre Bras—to Frasnès. Napoleon had invaded Flanders with 125,000 men; only 50,000 could be got together for the retreat on Paris.

The French casualties have been estimated at anything between 18,000 and 30,000, with 227 cannon captured. The total loss of the Allies—inclusive of the Prussians—was 23,185 officers and men, of which 11,678 belonged to the British and Hanoverians. The Scots Greys, out of 24 officers, had 7 killed and 9 wounded.

The casualties of the First Life Guards were:—Killed, Lieutenant-Colonel Ferrier, Captain Lind, Quartermasters Towers and Slingsby, and 28 troopers, with 64 horses; wounded, Captain Whale, Lieutenant Richardson, Sub-Lieutenant Cox, Quartermaster Dobson, and 41 troopers.

The losses of the Second Life Guards were:—Killed, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzgerald, Quartermasters Bradley and Beamond, and 85 men, with 153 horses; wounded, 68 men.

The Royal Horse Guards suffered the following losses:—Killed, Major Packe, 36 N.C.O.'s and men, with 71 horses; wounded, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Robert Hill, Lieutenant-Colonel and Captain Clement Hill, Lieutenants Shawe

and Bouverie, Quartermasters Thomas Varley and Jonas Varley, and 56 N.C.O.'s and men, with 13 horses.

In this most momentous and most memorable of all battles the Household Cavalry Brigade, who made in all four charges—two against cavalry, and two against the Imperial Guard—played a part of which they had every reason to be proud. In the official despatch descriptive of the battle, the Duke of Wellington—who was never prodigal in praise of his cavalry—made special mention of them in these terms :—"Lord Edward Somerset's Brigade, consisting of the Life Guards, Royal Horse Guards, and First Dragoon Guards, highly distinguished themselves." On the battlefield itself, however, the great soldier's laudation of his cavalry was more unstinted and more explicit. He was heard, says a trustworthy witness, to observe towards the evening that it was the hardest battle he had ever fought, and that he had seen many charges, but never any equal to the charges of the heavy brigades, particularly the Household.*

* See APPENDIX. After the return of the army to England, the Duke visited the Second Life Guards' Barracks in King Street, Portman Square, and addressing the regiment on parade expressed in the strongest terms his admiration both of its work in general, while under his command, and of its achievements at Waterloo in particular.

APPENDIX

A GRAPHIC narrative of Quatre Bras and Waterloo was written by a Trooper of the Second Life Guards :—

“On the morning of the 16th, about two o'clock, the route came, and we—the Second Life Guards—marched from Murbecke at seven; and after a very long day's march we passed through Braine-le-Comte and Nivelles, at which last place we heard a cannonade. As our army was then engaged with the French, we proceeded at a brisk trot for several miles on the road from Nivelles, and halted for the night in a wheat-field.

“Next morning, our men were drawn up in a line of battle fronting the wood* where the French had retired; but they would not venture to attack us. Lord Wellington, by a *ruse-de-guerre*, however, drew them from the wood by a rapid retreat, for a few miles towards Brussels; which brought the French on to the exact spot where he wished to attack them and where he might bring his cavalry into play. While retreating we were overtaken by a most violent thunderstorm and a heavy rain, which rendered us very uncomfortable. During the whole march no man was lost, but the Blues lost three or four. The First Life Guards charged some of the French lancers, and almost cut them to pieces. We were drawn up to give them a second charge, but they would not stand it.†

“This evening we bivouacked in a piece of boggy ground, where we were mid-leg up in mud and water. About

* No doubt the Bossu Wood at Quatre Bras, on the British right.

† “No second effort was necessary, for though we were to have given them another chance,” wrote an officer of the Life Guards, “they thought it prudent not to expose themselves to our weight a second time.” (*Waterloo: a Narrative.* By Horsburgh.)

11 o'clock the great action commenced. We were very soon called into action, and charged the French Cuirassiers of the Imperial Guard, whom we almost cut to pieces. A second charge of the same kind left but few of them, but we suffered much ; we have with the regiment at present about forty men. We know of forty-nine wounded, so that the rest must be either killed or prisoners. Lieut.-Colonel Fitzgerald was killed soon after the first charge. Captain Irby was taken prisoner, as his horse fell with him in returning from the charge : he has since made his escape and joined us, but they have stripped him of his sword, watch, and money, and had nearly taken his life. The heaviest fire was directed against the Horse Brigade the whole of the day, and it is astonishing how any of us escaped.

"At the conclusion of the battle, we were left masters of the field, and only one Officer of the Second Life Guards with two Corporals, and forty Privates remained. There was no Officer of the First Regiment, all or most of them having been dismounted. Colonel Lygon had one horse shot under him towards the conclusion of the battle, and the horses of several of our Officers were wounded.

"Lord Wellington was with the Brigade the greater part of the day, during which time I saw him repeatedly. He seemed much pleased, and was heard to observe towards the evening that it was the hardest battle he had ever fought, and that he had seen many charges, but never any equal to the charges of the heavy Brigades, particularly the Household. We made in all four charges—viz., two against cavalry and two against the Imperial Guard.

"Captain Kelly of the Life Guards encountered and killed the Colonel of the first regiment of the French Cuirassiers in the battle of the 18th, after which he stripped the vanquished of his epaulettes, and carried them off as a trophy." (Siborne, *Waterloo Letters*.)

CHAPTER LXVIII

THE Duke of Wellington did not accord his victorious but weary troops a rest, even for a day, after the great battle was won. On the morrow, June 19th, they began their march upon Paris, the enemy offering no very serious opposition. Several fortified towns fell into the hands of the Allies, who on the last day of the month arrived before the capital. The Life Guards bivouacked at Chennevières, moving thence, on July 2nd, to Roisey. Paris surrendered next day. On July 7th the Life Guards and Blues marched through the city and afterwards seven miles to Nanterre, where they were quartered. The 18th found the Blues at Louveciennes, where on the two following days they were reinforced by a remnant from England, made up of 10 officers, 135 rank and file, and 129 horses.

July 24th was marked by a grand review of the whole of the Allied armies by the Duke of Wellington, in the presence of the King of France, the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia. On this occasion was published an order to the following effect :—

War Office, 24th July, 1815.—The Prince Regent, as a mark of his high appreciation of the distinguished bravery and good conduct of his First and Second Life Guards at the battle of Waterloo on the 18th ultimo, is pleased to declare himself Colonel-in-Chief of both Regiments of Life Guards.*

* There is a story that, when the Duke heard the Prince Regent had constituted himself Colonel-in-Chief of the Life Guards in honour of their brilliant conduct at Waterloo, he observed, "His Royal Highness can do what he pleases, but this I will say—that the cavalry of other

The word "Waterloo" was by order henceforth borne upon the standards of all three regiments. On August 21st the Blues were at Colombes. The whole Brigade, with the Eighth cavalry brigade and a troop of horse artillery, took part in a review held by the Tsar, as well as in a review of the whole of the Allied forces on September 22nd, and in another of 60,000 British and Hanoverian troops which took place on October 11th.

By way of contrast with these glories may be related a domestic incident of a less pleasant character. A representation having been made that some horses had been stolen out of the Life Guard stables, the Duke caustically ordered the Adjutant-General to say that it would be casting "a reflection on the Regiment to make a claim on the French Government for a loss which could not have been sustained had the precautions established by the Service been attended to." It was added that the "proper proportion of orderlies" had evidently not been ordered to sleep in the regimental stables.

With the opening of a new year had arrived the time for the return homewards of the Household Brigade. On January 16th, 1816, they were inspected by Lord Combermere near Paris, and left their quarters the following day, the Life Guards embarking at Boulogne early in February, and reaching London on the 8th, and the Blues crossing from Calais to Dover and Ramsgate about the same time, and proceeding to their old quarters at Windsor.* On Lady Day all three regiments received

European armies have won victories for their generals; mine have always got me into scrapes. It is true, though, that they have always fought gallantly, and have generally got themselves out of difficulties by sheer pluck." (*Gronow's Recollections.*)

* 1816, February 7th. From the *Military Register* :—

"1st Life Guards to the Barracks in Hyde Park, and which marched into the metropolis on Monday in excellent order, the baggage, etc., having arrived on Sunday.

their silver Waterloo medals, suspended by a crimson and blue ribbon.

The first anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo was jointly commemorated in 1816 at Windsor by the Royal Horse Guards (Blue) and the Grenadier Guards. The Duke of York, as Commander-in-Chief and Colonel of the Grenadiers, attended this celebration, which lasted for three successive days. The following is a contemporary account of the festivities, the first of which was a dinner given by the officers of the Blues to those of the Grenadiers :—

The greater part of the Officers of the Grenadier Guards, and a select party of distinguished persons, amongst whom were the Duke of Montrose, Lord Percy, and General Taylor, dined on Monday with Sir Robert Hill, and the Officers of the Royal Horse Guards, at the Cavalry Barracks.

On the following day the compliment was returned :—

On Tuesday the Officers of the Royal Horse Guards and several persons of distinction dined with the Duke of York and the Officers of the Grenadier Guards. The arrangements at the Infantry Barracks were not, from want of room, upon the same extensive scale as those at the Riding House ; but elegance and taste predominated in the decorations. The room fitted up for the occasion was a large one, usually occupied by Sergeants.

The third event was on a larger scale. The tables were laid in the Long Walk of Windsor Park, and the principal constituent of the dinner was roast beef :—

About half-past one, the Two Regiments, in their full dress, headed by their respective Colonels, marched into the Long Walk. After some little time the troops took their places on each side of the table—the Royal Horse Guards on the right, the Grenadier Guards on the left ; by this arrangement the two regiments were united, and yet preserved their own order of march. Before the troops were arranged the Duke of York and Princess Mary arrived on the ground, and

“ 2nd Life Guards to the Barracks in King Street, where they will arrive to-morrow.

“ The Royal Horse Guards Blue to their former quarters at Windsor, and where they will join their depot troops.”



TRUMPETER, 1ST LIFE GUARDS, 1828.
From an Old Print.

walked up to the centre of the table: the men being seated, the trumpet sounded, and all stood up, while the Rev. Mr. Roper, Chaplain to the Forces at Windsor, pronounced in a most impressive manner the following address:—

“Soldiers, you are now about to partake of a repast provided for you by the generous solicitude of the inhabitants of this town, in commemoration of the battle of Waterloo, where the most glorious victory was achieved by your valour; and by your exertions on that memorable day the Nations of Europe were delivered from tyranny and oppression, and the blessings of Peace restored to your native country.

“But, while elevated by the recollection of the heroic deeds you then performed, remember that it is the Great God of Heaven that giveth all victory, that it is the God of battles that nerves the Soldier’s arm; to God therefore give the honour due unto His Name, and attentively join in the following.” Grace was then said.

We must not forget to add that Sir Robert Hill and the Officers of the Royal Horse Guards entertained the women of the Regiment with tea and other refreshments in the Riding House on Tuesday.

The conclusion of peace had been followed by a period of seething popular discontent, which showed itself in frequent riots. Both the Life Guards and the Blues were in requisition to quell these disturbances.*

In the early spring of 1817 there was considerable rioting in London, and, although bloodshed was avoided, a strong military demonstration was considered necessary. The Life Guards were ordered to patrol with their pistols loaded and to carry plenty of spare ammunition. The Second Life Guards were on one occasion provided by the Lord Mayor with quarters at the “Leaping Bar,” the “Horse and Groom,” and the “Running Horse” livery stables in Blackfriars Road. Another time they were lodged at the stables of the City Light Horse in Gray’s Inn. They received due credit for their self-restraint:—

The Life Guards, though annoyed, conducted themselves with great propriety, striking, with the flat of their swords only, right and left, upon which the arms were thrown away, and taken up by the Troops.

* 1816, June 25th. “R.H.G.B. have of late been much in motion, owing, it is said, to a disposition to riot being evinced in some parts of the Counties of Berks. Four Troops are at Windsor, Two at Reading, and One at Henley.”

The *Military Register* for December 11th, 1816, had paid them this tribute :—

We are happy to hear from all quarters of the city good accounts of the excellent conduct of this Corps in the least satisfactory of all duties. Their timely and not premature aid, prompt and decisive, yet patient and lenient conduct under great aggravation, and in a very agitated state of the people, merit the highest praise.

The Prince Regent, in his new capacity as Colonel-in-Chief of the Life Guards, on July 28th, 1817, inspected the Life Guards and Blues on Hounslow Heath. The Life Guards had also been inspected in the spring by the Grand Duke Nicholas—afterwards Emperor of Russia—who was enthusiastic in his admiration of their turn-out and of their riding.

On the second anniversary of Waterloo the Second Life Guards formed the guard of honour on the occasion of the opening of the new Waterloo Bridge, and by special order the men detailed for the duty were restricted to those who had taken part in the battle.

In November the sad task fell to the Blues of escorting the body of the youthful Princess Charlotte, heiress to the Throne, from Egham to Windsor, and of attending her funeral.

In 1818 it was decided, in accordance with precedent, to effect drastic reductions in the British Army, which diminished its effective strength by no less than 31,402 men. In each Regiment of the Life Guards there was a reduction of 112 men, and in the Blues of 104 men, or 328 in all. It was further ordered that the supernumerary Lieutenant-Colonels of the two Regiments of the Life Guards should be discontinued on the strength of these corps, their pay to be classed under the head of "allowances."

The establishment of each regiment of Life Guards was now 32 officers, 8 quarter-masters, 397 men, and 274 troop-horses.

A special course of instruction in riding was started at this period by Colonel Peters at the Queen's Riding House in Pimlico, of which the Life Guards appear to have availed themselves—2 officers and 24 N.C.O.'s and men forming one of the first classes held—and further to have requisitioned from the Ordnance a movable leaping-bar and a set of posts for use in barracks.

Notwithstanding Colonel Peters's highly eulogistic reports of the riding of the Household Cavalry, some friction appears to have occurred later between him and the regimental riding-masters. The Duke of Wellington wrote to Sir Robert Hill, then in command of the Blues, a very characteristic note to the effect that Peters seemed to regard such matters as the position of the saddle on the horse's back merely from the point of view of parade and appearance; whereas the comfort and serviceableness of the animal ought to be the first consideration. He added, "Get from Colonel Peters the information which can be useful to you, and decide the rest for yourself."

On the night of December 30th, 1818, Queen Charlotte, who had died a fortnight previously at Kew, was buried at Windsor. A hundred men from each regiment of Life Guards marched from London and joined with the Blues and Lancers in attendance at the ceremony. Some disorder appears to have arisen on the occasion, and the Cavalry are reported to have "behaved with the greatest propriety and courtesy, the Foot Guards being less conciliating and gentle." (*Newspaper.*)

The death of King George III. occurred on January 29th, 1820, and at the State funeral on February 16th the Grand Staircase in Windsor Castle and the centre of St. George's Chapel were lined by 260 Life Guards, the whole Regiment of the Blues being also on duty.

CHAPTER LXIX

AMONG the MSS. at Apsley House is a letter, written by command of King George the Fourth, which finally secured to the Blues the position and full privileges of Household Cavalry:—

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF YORK, C.-IN-C., K.G.,
TO F.M. THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, K.G.,
Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards (Blue).

Horse Guards,
1 March, 1820.

MY LORD DUKE,

I have received the King's Commission to acquaint your Grace that, taking into his consideration the distinguished conduct of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards Blue, and being fully aware of the partiality which his late Majesty ever entertained for that Corps, His Majesty conceives that he is only fulfilling the intention of his late Majesty in granting to that Regiment the same Honours and Privileges in every respect as are possessed by the two Regiments of Life Guards, and in consequence of which it is His Majesty's gracious intention that your Grace should roll with, and take your share of your duty as Gold Stick with, the Colonels of those two Regiments; and also that the Field Officers of the Horse Guards should take their share of the duty of Silver Stick.

I am,

My dear Lord,

FREDERICK, Commander-in-Chief.

The Duke of Wellington, in acknowledging the honour done to his Regiment, ventured warmly to deprecate one part of the arrangement, and he himself never acted upon it:—

F.M. THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, K.G.,
TO H.R.H. THE DUKE OF YORK, C.-IN-C., K.G.

SIR,

I have had the honour of receiving your Royal Highness's letter of the 1st instant, in which your Royal Highness informs me that his Majesty

has been pleased to grant to the Royal Horse Guards, Blue, the same honours and privileges in every respect as are possessed by the two Regiments of Life Guards; and that it his Majesty's intention that I should roll with, and take my share of the duty as Gold Stick with, the Colonels of those two regiments, and that the field officers of the Horse Guards (Blue) should take their share of the duty of the Silver Stick; and I request your Royal Highness will make my most grateful acknowledgments to his Majesty on my own part, as well on that of the Regiment, for this most gracious mark of his Majesty's favour.

There is, however, one part of the arrangement, the effect of which I should wish to have considered before it is finally carried into execution. The officers of the Horse Guards have hitherto been recommended to his Majesty's notice, as well for their promotion as for their original commissions in the service, by the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces; and it is not unfair to attribute a part of the reputation which that Regiment has acquired, and which has now obtained this distinguished mark of his Majesty's approbation, to the selection of officers made for it by the Commander-in-Chief. With every inclination to perform this duty to the best of my judgment, I doubt my having the means to perform it which the Commander-in-Chief has. At all events it will be admitted that I must feel a strong conviction of the benefit which has resulted from the selection of the officers of the Royal Horse Guards by the Commander-in-Chief, when I express a wish that that system should be continued, rather than that the privilege of recommending the officers to his Majesty by the Gold Stick should be extended to that regiment.

I have not yet made any communication to the Regiment on the subject of your Royal Highness's letter; but I understand that this arrangement having been in contemplation upon a former occasion, the officers of the Regiment were anxious that their merits and services, and their claims to promotion, should still be under the cognizance of, and should be recommended by, the Commander-in-Chief to his Majesty, which is an additional motive with me for recommending that the privilege of the two regiments of Life Guards, regarding the promotions and appointments of officers, may not be extended to the Royal Horse Guards, Blue.

I have, &c.,

WELLINGTON.

The famous Cato Street conspiracy, discovered in March, 1820, which was aimed at the lives of the Ministry, was one of the last occasions on which the Life Guards were called upon to escort malefactors. Thistlewood and seven of his confederates, having been examined by the Privy Council at the Home Office, were committed to the

Tower on the charge of high treason.* They were handcuffed in pairs, and placed in hackney coaches. The escort, which had been hurriedly summoned, surrounded the conveyances, and escorted them by the south side of the river, over London Bridge and through Fenchurch Street to the Tower. Six other conspirators arraigned on various counts were taken by another party of Life Guards to the House of Detention.

In June the unhappy and ill-advised Queen Caroline, having determined to assert her rights as the King's Consort, returned to London. She resided at the house of Alderman Wood in South Audley Street, and on the night of her arrival a huge mob assembled in the vicinity

* The Gold Stick was notified :—

Little Camden House, Kensington,

8th June, 1820.

MY LORD,

Thistlewood
Watson
Preston
Hooper

I have received the Commander-in-Chief's Commands to request that your Lordship will be pleased to direct a Troop of Life Guards to be at the Tower at half-past seven o'clock to-morrow morning, and the Officer in command of this Troop to report to Major Elvington, commanding the Tower, that the Troop has been ordered to attend for the purpose of assisting to escort the four prisoners mentioned in the Margin, who are to be conveyed to Westminster Hall to take their Trials on Charge of High Treason.

The Commander-in-Chief further requests that your Lordship will direct that a Troop of the Life Guards shall be stationed at the Stable in Blackman Street, in order to support the Civil Power in case of need, and that the usual Guard of the Horse Guards shall be doubled during the whole of to-morrow.

In order to prevent the possibility of any mistake in regard to these arrangements, I have to request that your Lordship will be good enough to acknowledge this letter, by a line addressed to me at "Little Camden House, Kensington."

I have the honour to be, etc.,

HARRY CALVERT, A.-G.

of the house and testified their sympathy for the illustrious lady by an indiscriminate breakage of heads and windows. A strong body of Life Guards was ordered to patrol the streets, and eventually succeeded in restoring order.

The situation was complicated by manifestations of a spirit of disaffection which existed at the moment in one of the battalions of Foot Guards, on account of the uncomfortably crowded state of their barracks, and the consequent order for their march to Portsmouth.

Two nights later another mob gathered in Charing Cross and round the barracks at the Mews, and tried to incite the soldiers to mutiny. The Prime Minister, Lord Sidmouth, was hastily summoned from dinner, and viewed the situation so gravely—on account of the proximity of the royal palace and the Government offices—that he hurried to the Horse Guards and himself gave orders to Captain Ridout, of the Second Life Guards, who was in command of the Guard, to turn out and disperse the crowd.

On the 9th the Duke of Wellington ordered mounted patrols to be sent out:—

TO THE COMMANDING OFFICER OF THE LIFE GUARDS.

From King-street Barracks, a patrol of six men to set out at half-past nine, and to proceed by Gloucester-place, Portman-square, Manchester-square, Cavendish-square, Portland-place, Weymouth-street, Manchester-square, Portman-square, and King-street Barracks.

A patrol of six men to set out at half-past nine, and proceed by Weymouth-street, Cavendish-square, Holles-street, Oxford-street, Cumberland-street, Portman-square, and King-street Barracks.

Twelve men to proceed from King-street Barracks, at half-past nine, along Wigmore-street to Cavendish-square, to wait there till relieved, and the last relief to return with the last patrols to King-street Barracks.

Similar patrols to be sent out from King-street Barracks as soon as those above-mentioned will have returned, and the same to be repeated till half-past one in the morning.

A patrol of six men to be sent, at half-past nine o'clock, from the barracks at Knightsbridge, along Piccadilly, Park-lane, Upper Grosvenor-street, Grosvenor-square, Hanover-square, George-street,

Conduit-street, Berkeley-square, Charles-street, Curzon-street, South Audley-street, Stanhope-street, Piccadilly, and the barracks.

A patrol of six men to be sent from the barracks at Knightsbridge, by Piccadilly, Bond-street, Clifford-street, Saville-street, New Burlington-street, Swallow-street, Princes-street, Hanover-square, Lower Brook-street, Grosvenor-square, Upper Brook-street, Park-lane, barracks at Knightsbridge.

A party of twelve men will proceed from Knightsbridge Barrack at the same hour with the patrols above mentioned, and will proceed by Piccadilly, Dover-street, Hertford-street, Curzon-street, Charles-street, Berkeley-square, and there remain till relieved. The last relief to return with the last patrols (and will keep a vedette in Brook-street to communicate with that patrol) by the same route to Knightsbridge Barracks. The said patrols to be repeated from Knightsbridge Barracks when the above mentioned will return, and to be repeated again till half-past one in the morning, or even later if there should be any riot or disturbance.

A patrol of six men to be sent from the Horse Guards at half-past nine, and proceed along Pall Mall, St. James's-street, Piccadilly, Haymarket, Horse Guards.

A similar patrol, at the same time and from the same place, and proceed by St. Alban's-street, Charles-street, St. James's-square, York-street, Jermyn-street, Duke-street, St. James's-square, George-street, Pall Mall, Horse Guards.

Similar patrols to be sent out when these will return, and they are to be repeated till half-past one in the morning, or later if necessary.

In case any disturbance or breaking of windows should be heard of in any streets in the neighbourhood of the lines of these patrols, the patrols are to be taken to those streets, and communication to be made to the support stationed in Berkeley-square and Cavendish-square respectively.

A patrol from the Horse Guards is likewise to be sent up the Strand at the same hour and in the same manner.

WELLINGTON.

The Duke also drew up a memorandum to the Earl of Liverpool respecting the state of the Guards, in which he urged the necessity of a properly trained police force to assist the military, and in the event of mutiny to perform their functions:—

Then there are other measures of a military nature which I think might be adopted with advantage, and would at least prevent our being *surprised* by a mutiny. I put out of the question all the causes or pretences stated for mutiny, as I know well that if the temper for mutiny does not already exist none of these causes ever excite it. The men

may grumble at the frequency and unpleasant nature of their duty, but they never mutiny on this account, although such grievances sound well in their mouths, or those of their abettors, when mutiny has occurred. I would, however, recommend some new arrangement for the duties; particularly if we are to pass many more such months as this last, during which I have had a knowledge of them. Besides the King, who sends his own commands through Bloomfield, there are the following officers who send orders to these unfortunate troops:—The Secretary of State; Commander-in-Chief; Field-Officer-in-Waiting; Gold Stick, Silver Stick, to the two regiments of Horse Guards only. The consequence is that, when there is a disturbance in the town which lasts for a week or ten days, nobody knows who is on or who off duty, all the troops are harassed, and the duty is ill done after all.

Only last night, after I had received Lord Sidmouth's directions for the duties of the night, at eight o'clock in the night I found that somebody had altered what was ordered, and that the guard at the Horse Guards was doubled, whether for any or what necessity I cannot judge.

King George the Fourth having decided that, at his Coronation, the Household Cavalry should appear in cuirasses,* the Duke of Wellington wrote two letters on the subject:—

TO SIR B. BLOOMFIELD.

London, 28th March, 1821.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

In consequence of the commands of his Majesty, communicated to me by the Earl Cathcart, I have had certain cuirasses prepared, some bright iron with brass nails, for the Life Guards, and others brazed for the Blues. The latter, though much more expensive and considerably heavier than the former, are not likely to be so durable, as, in fact, the brazing is liable to come off. Under these circumstances, and having shown the pattern to the Earl Cathcart, I beg leave humbly to recommend to his Majesty that the cuirasses for the three regiments may be bright iron with brass nails and ornaments; those for the Life Guards having blue binding, those for the Blues, red.

I beg to have his Majesty's decision upon this subject as soon as may be convenient, as there is but little time to complete the cuirasses before the coronation.

Believe me, &c.,

WELLINGTON.

* Col. Clifford Walton derives *cuirass* from Span. *coraza*, "so called from its being a defence for the breast or heart (Span. *corazon*, heart)." Skeat derives from Ital. *corazza*, Low Lat. *coratia*, from *coracius*, "put

TO THE EARL OF HARRINGTON.

London, 30th March, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

The King has determined that the Life Guards and Blues shall wear cuirasses; and this department is now employed in preparing the cuirasses now in the Tower for those regiments.

Lord Cathcart has informed me that there are in the stores of the First Life Guards certain cuirasses formerly used by that Regiment; and as these may be better than some in the Ordnance stores, and, at all events, those may be deficient in number, I request your Lordship to be so kind as to let me have those which may be in the stores of the First Life Guards. If they should be better than those in the Ordnance, they shall be re-issued to that regiment when fitted up.

Believe me, &c.,

WELLINGTON.

The Coronation was solemnised on July 19th. At the Levée held at Carlton House on the 25th the Life Guards were on duty "dressed in armour after the style of *cuirassiers*." Two of the corps were stationed in the grand hall. The following day the King held his first Drawing-room at Buckingham House, where he arrived at noon "escorted by a party of the Oxford Blues *en cuirassier* from his Palace in Pall Mall." *

Needless to say, the cuirasses have never been tested on the field of battle, the working uniform of the Life Guards tending ever to assimilate itself more closely to the ideal of the Lifeguardsman who, after performing prodigies of valour at Waterloo, and being asked what dress he would prefer if he were ever again called upon to fight, replied that he should like to take off his coat and turn his shirt-sleeves up above the elbows!

The uniform of the Life Guards had been subjected to many variations. In 1812 the cocked hat and feathers—which was itself a development of the original round

for " Lat. *coriaceus*, leathern (*corium*, leather). So also Donald, editor of *Chambers's Etym. Dict.*

* *Ann. Reg.* 1821, p. 113.

cap with a large brim turned up in front and behind—was discarded, and brass helmets with black horsehair crests were adopted.* Two years later these horsehair crests gave place to blue and red woollen crests, with a red and white plume on the left side of the helmet. In 1817 the heavy brass helmets were replaced by polished steel helmets with brass ornaments and bearskin crests without a plume. At the coronation of George IV. in 1821 the Life Guards appeared in bearskin Grenadier caps ornamented with the Royal arms and other devices and having a white plume of feathers on the left side drawn across the crown of the cap. To harmonise with this head-gear, grenade ornaments were ordered to be worn on the pouches and horse furniture as well as on the skirts of the coat. In 1833 William IV. introduced a new Grenadier cap, lighter and less ornamented than its predecessor.

In 1812 the long coats, profusely trimmed with gold lace across the front, skirts and cuffs, were set aside for

* This change was one of the achievements of the Board of General Officers, at whom, in consequence, were aimed many shafts of sarcasm and ridicule. "Who," asked one critic, "were the persons who devoted their time and talents to the mode of sticking ostrich feathers in generals' hats and arranging other articles of dress? He should rejoice in an acquaintance with the military milliners who had tried to transform the Life Guards. The unfortunate Blues were ordered to be sent abroad; did any gentleman see them before they went? Nothing could be more absurd than these military changes, worthy of Grimaldi [a clown] and D'Egville [a stage dancer.]" Mr. Whitbread, one of the Opposition in Parliament, spoke pathetically of the poor Blues, who were sent off with little cocked hats which could easily be knocked off, while the Life Guards were furnished with brass helmets of such weight that they caused an infinitely greater evil than the one they were intended to remedy; for, in addition to the weight, they were furnished with a rivet and a screw to fasten an ornament, which were so placed on the inside that if a heavy sabre blow fell on the helmet, it must fracture the skull of the wearer. He also animadverted against the Blues' saddles, which he said consisted of nothing but two sticks and a bit of leather. (Stocqueler, *Personal History of the Horse Guards*.)

short coatees more sparingly ornamented with gold lace. The officers were ordered to wear scarlet and gold lace sashes, while the men were provided with worsted sashes of blue and yellow. The men's sashes were altered two years later to red and yellow, and were discontinued altogether in 1829. Jack-boots and leather breeches were continued for the King's Guard order and for State occasions, but blue-grey pantaloons, with a scarlet seam down the outside of the leg, and short boots were prescribed for regimental duty. The blue-grey pantaloons were in 1817 superseded by claret-coloured trousers with a broad red stripe. Short leather gloves were used for ordinary duties, while the stiff leather gauntlets were continued on the same occasions as the jack-boots. In the same year the double-breasted coatees were converted into single-breasted coats with scarlet epaulettes, which were more convenient for displaying the newly acquired Waterloo medals. The claret-coloured trousers were altered by William IV. into dark blue trousers with a seam and double stripe of scarlet.

In 1814 the time-honoured scarlet horse furniture, housings and holster caps were replaced by sheepskin shabraques—black for the officers and white for the men—and blue horse-furniture trimmed with gold lace. In 1812 there occurred an important change of weapons, the long carbines, or muskettes with bayonets, which had been issued in the reign of George II., and the large horse-pistols, were deposited in the Tower, and in their place short carbines with pistols of less calibre were brought into use.

Queen Caroline, after her vain attempt to assert herself at the Coronation in July, 1821, died on the 7th of the following month. She had left directions that within three days of her decease her body was to be removed from Brandenburg House for burial at Brunswick. Her

executors, on various pretexts, sought to create a delay which, intentionally or not, would have kept alive a dangerous agitation. The King, at whose expense the obsequies were to be performed, and in the exercise of his undoubted right, ordered that the funeral should take place within seven days—a sufficient concession to the executors and their friends. The late Queen's allies, using the occasion for political purposes, were determined to create trouble, the disorder which marked the progress of the funeral procession exhibiting the clearest signs of having been carefully organised beforehand.

At six o'clock in the morning of August 14th a squadron of the Royal Horse Guards, under the command of Captain Bouverie, arrived from the Regents Park barracks and formed into line in front of Brandenburg House for the purpose of escorting the *cortège* as far as Romford, where the Blues were to be relieved by some dragoons.

The route decided upon by the Government lay through the Kensington Gate and Hyde Park to Tyburn Gate; thence along Edgware Road, the New Road and City Road to Islington, and thence by Essex Road to its destination. The mob, or rather the wirepullers who controlled it, were bent on forcing the procession to pass through the heart of the City, where the civic authorities were prepared to receive it with honour.

The first trouble occurred at Kensington Gate, the mob shutting the iron gates against the procession. At that instant the Life Guards, coming through the Park, arrived upon the scene at the other side of the gates, and were assailed by the mob with stones and brickbats, to prevent the soldiers from forcing a passage. The Life Guards, however, opened the gates, when Sir Robert Baker, the magistrate in charge of the procession, decided to abandon the prescribed route, and to go by Knightsbridge. Arrived at Hyde Park Corner, and finding the

road into the Park barricaded with waggons full of bricks, the magistrate once more ignored his orders and tried to lead the procession along Piccadilly. The Life Guards, however, dismounting from their horses, promptly removed all the obstructions and conducted the *cortège* into the Park. At Cumberland Gate the procession sought to debouch into Park Lane. Here the next serious conflict occurred, the soldiers being pelted with stones and mud, and several of them severely injured. The procession continued its progress up Park Lane, when it was found that Tyburn Gate, at the foot of Edgware Road, was barricaded. Here another and more tragic conflict occurred, the soldiers being at last compelled to fire on the mob, of whom two—named Honey and Francis—were so badly wounded that they afterwards died.

The procession, kept long waiting for the magistrate to rejoin it, made its way along Oxford Street as far as Tottenham Court Road. Here Sir Robert Baker, instead of ordering the removal of the barricade which blocked his progress northwards, submitted to the mob's dictation, and led the procession to the Strand. At Temple Bar it was joined by the civic officials, and having made its progress through the City, reached its destination without further incident.

On September 12th an ignorant coroner's jury returned a verdict of "Manslaughter against the Officers and Soldiers of the First Regiment of Life Guards who were on Duty between Tyburn Turnpike and Park Lane on the day when Robert Honey was shot—14th August, 1821"; but no further steps were taken in the matter.*

* The *Military Register* discussed the conduct of the Life Guards on this occasion in the following terms:—

"When the extent of our present metropolis is considered and its vast population, say a million, and the many thousands which, according to the calculations of the late Mr. Colquhoun, are daily ripe for any mischief particularly under the colour of political agitation and when



FIRING FROM THE SADDLE, 1822.
From an oil painting in the United Service Museum.

Public appreciation of the admirable conduct of the First Life Guards and disgust with the verdict of the jury took the form of a proposal to present the men of the Regiment with a sum of money. The gift was courteously declined :—

Hyde Park Barracks,
Sept. 17th, 1821.

TO THE HONOURABLE COLONEL H. LYGON,
Commanding 1st Life Guards, etc.

SIR,

The Committee of the Regimental Fund assembled this day, respecting the appropriation of the sums subscribed for the Life Guards, when the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :—

Resolved :

That we feel the highest sense of the testimony of public approbation, contained in the resolution of the Committee, and that we beg to return our thanks to the gentlemen with whom the measure originated.

That we have seen with pride and gratification, the names of persons of highest rank and of the greatest respectability in the list of subscribers, and that we duly appreciate the unequivocal marks of approbation bestowed on our conduct generally on duty.

That with gratification in our hearts we accept the tribute of praise so kindly given, but since, by this day's advertisement, it appears to be intended that the measure should bear the character of a reward to the military generally, for the bare performance of their duty, we beg leave to respectfully decline any participation in the subscription, as we conceive that, as soldiers, we are pledged to the zealous and correct discharge of our duty under any circumstances, without looking to any other reward than the provision that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to make for us, and the approbation of our King and Country.

it is recollected that Infantry can only act in Position, let anyone divide say 800 men and horses to move however rapidly through the different purlieus where they would be obviously required on occasion of any mischievous assemblage, and he will see what a mere nucleus they must form.

“To the organised mob at Hyde Park Corner the Life Guards evinced the most exemplary forbearance—we have the authority of one of the most distinguished of what are called Radicals, present in the procession, for saying it—long after not only themselves were imminently endangered, but even the persons in the Coaches, which formed that procession, considered their lives unsafe from the Missiles which passed through the windows.” (*Mil. Reg.*, 1821–2, p. 212.)

The Committee have required me to submit the foregoing resolutions for your approval, which should they receive, they have further to request that you will be pleased to forward them to the Secretary of the Subscription.

On behalf of the Committee,

Your most obedient Servant,

WILLIAM BISHOP, Q.M.

Treasurer to Regimental Fund.

For more than twenty years, out of deference to the evident partiality of George III. for that regiment,* the Blues had been quartered at Windsor, and had come to be regarded as permanent residents, many of them indeed having acquired small plots of property. King George IV., however, very rightly decided that it was more consonant with their dignity that they should share the London duties in rotation with the other two Regiments of Household Cavalry, and on June 14th, 1821, they removed first to cantonments near London, and then to Regent's Park Barracks.

* In 1821 King George IV. gave Colonel Sir Robert Hill a suit of the Blues' uniform worn by George III., from which was modelled the dress for the equestrian statue of that monarch now in Pall Mall East. The uniform is preserved at Hawkstone.

CHAPTER LXX

ON the death of the Duke of York at the beginning of 1827, the Duke of Wellington was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the army and Colonel of the Grenadier Guards, his acceptance of the latter post involving the resignation of the command of the Blues. His successor in this office was Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, third son of George III., and subsequently King of Hanover.

Although the Duke of Wellington had since 1820 exercised the functions of Gold Stick, he had purposely abstained from claiming the privilege *—enjoyed by the Colonels of the Life Guards—of taking the King's pleasure as regards promotion, leaves of absence, &c. The Duke of Cumberland, however, sought and secured his right to rank in this respect on a par with his colleagues.

In 1829 occurred the death of the Earl of Harrington, who for thirty-seven years had been Colonel of the First Life Guards. The selection of Viscount Combermere to fill the vacant office of course met with the hearty approval of his old Chief, who, however, called in question the King's method of bestowing what Wellington still considered a political appointment otherwise than on the constitutional responsibility of a Minister of the Crown. The Duke, who, on forming a Government in 1828, had

* The Duke—see his letter to the Commander-in-Chief of March, 1820—had urgently deprecated the extension of this questionable "privilege" to the Regiment of Blues. It was ultimately withdrawn from the Life Guards also.

somewhat reluctantly resigned the Commander-in-Chiefship to Lord Hill, wrote to Sir Robert Peel:—

The King has written to the Secretary-at-War to desire him to send His Majesty a commission appointing Lord Combermere Colonel of the 1st Life Guards. He had before desired Lord Hill to make the appointment and has not even informed his minister of the arrangement. I will not have a quarrel with the King about such a trifle. I intended to have suggested Lord Combermere to him if he had spoken to me about the Life Guards. But I think I ought to remind His Majesty that the mode adopted of making this arrangement is not the mode in which business of this description is done.

In the following reign Sir Henry Tylour wrote by the King's command to Earl Grey that the late Duke of York would never have disposed of a regiment of Life Guards without previous communication with the Prime Minister. (*Correspondence of Earl Grey and William IV.*)

The death of George IV. took place on June 26th, 1830. The Household Cavalry* bore their part on the occasion of the royal funeral on July 16th, and on the 26th they were inspected by the King of Würtemberg in Hyde Park. A week later King William IV., who had immediately on his accession constituted himself Colonel-in-Chief of the Household Cavalry, visited Regent's Park Barracks, where the Blues were quartered. He at the same time inspected the First Life Guards, who came over from Hyde Park Barracks for that purpose.

The arrangements in connection with the late King's funeral gave great umbrage to the Duke of Cumberland, who—to state it mildly—was of a peculiarly unhappy disposition. The King ordered that on this occasion, and henceforward, the Household Cavalry should report, and

* 1830. July 14th. The escort for the King from Frogmore to Windsor Castle, under the command of a captain in the Blues, to be furnished in equal proportions from the three Regiments. (C.-in-C.'s *Letter-Book.*)

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in all military matters be subject, to the Commander-in-Chief.* The Duke of Cumberland angrily protested that, so far as he was personally concerned, the Gold Stick, being divested of its high military functions, would lapse into a Court appointment, which he, as a Prince of the Blood, could not hold, and that as a Senior British Field-Marshal it was impossible for him to take orders from a junior in the Service. He therefore tendered his resignation of the colonelcy of the Blues, which the King promptly and equably accepted, suggesting at once Lord Howden† to succeed him.

The Duke of Wellington tried to smooth matters over. He wrote to Sir H. Taylour on July 14th :—

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I have received your letter, and I confess that it gives me the greatest concern to learn that there has been anything of the nature of an unpleasant discussion between the King and his brother, the Duke of Cumberland.

All establishments of Guards have been founded on the principle of being commanded by the Sovereign himself in person. The colonels of the Foot Guards in England, as well as the colonels of the Horse, had the privilege of taking the King's pleasure direct upon the promotions in their several regiments, excepting, indeed, the *Royal Horse Guards* (Blue), which last regiment, till the Duke of Cumberland was appointed the colonel, always had had their promotion through the Commander-in-Chief.

The regiments of infantry of the Guards had likewise, till a late period, done their duty under their senior colonel, or the Colonel of the First Regiment of Guards; as the Horse Guards had done theirs under an officer of their own, called the Gold Stick; and it is curious‡ enough that till I returned to England from the Continent in the year

* This arrangement realised the views propounded by Wellington ten years previously.

† 2nd Baron Howden, who had served in the Peninsula as A.D.C. to the Duke and had been wounded in 1827 at the battle of Navarino, when acting as military commissioner.

‡ The arrangement could hardly have appeared "curious" to anyone acquainted with the origin and history of the Life Guards and the Royal Horse Guards respectively.

1819, the colonel of the Blues did not do the duty of Gold Stick ; and that although I did the duty of Gold Stick, and that the Blues, when in London, were under the general command of the Gold-Stick-in-Waiting, the colonel of the Blues did not take the King's pleasure regarding promotions, leaves of absence, &c., till after I quitted the regiment.

There is no doubt that, considering the nature and size of our military establishments, the public have derived great convenience from the Foot Guards being under the orders of the General Commanding the Army, and his Majesty receiving all reports through that officer. The question is whether the regiments of Horse Guards ought to be placed under the same rule.

As long as the Gold Stick was relieved monthly, and that he commanded exclusively the cavalry of the Guard placed in London, and that the regiment not in London (although the promotions and leaves of absence continued to go directly to the King from the colonel of that regiment, as well as the others which were in London) was under the General Commanding the Army, I am not aware that any public inconvenience was felt from that system. It certainly increased the dignity and splendour of the monarch and his Court without increase of expense or any other inconvenience.

I confess, therefore, that I should have doubted of any alteration, excepting that of bringing the institution back to where it was heretofore.

If, however, the King thinks proper to make the alteration, I can make no objection. The duty of the Gold Stick about the King's person would still continue under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief ; and the Colonels of the regiments would perform their business of promotion, leaves of absence, &c., with the Commander-in-Chief.

I think that if His Majesty makes the limited alteration which I have suggested, the Duke of Cumberland will be satisfied, and will remain. This is certainly desirable for the peace, honour, and dignity of the Royal family.

If the Duke of Cumberland should quit, whether on account of the extended or of the limited alteration, I would recommend to the King to appoint Lord Rosslyn to be Colonel of the Blues. He is an old officer, and in the cavalry, and a man highly esteemed.

Believe me, &c.,

WELLINGTON.

P.S.—There is one point to which I have not adverted in this letter, and that is the notion of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, that, as Gold Stick, he could not without disgrace and dishonour receive the orders of a junior officer as General Commanding-the-Army-in-Chief.

In this opinion his Royal Highness is entirely mistaken. The

practice of the service is entirely different. The Gold Stick has been frequently put under the Commander-in-Chief.

But the reasoning upon the case will show that his Royal Highness is mistaken. The Gold Stick performs a limited and restricted duty. His command is limited to a certain body of troops, as is that of a colonel of a regiment, or other body of troops. There is nothing so common in that and other services in which General officers are colonels of regiments, than for seniors to appear under the command and to obey the orders of juniors appointed to command by the Sovereign upon any service or any occasion.

If the Gold Stick, therefore, can be put under the command of the Commander-in-Chief, of which there is no doubt, the relative army rank does not signify.

Taylor replied that the King would speak to his brother before finally accepting his resignation and that His Majesty approved the suggested nomination of Lord Rosslyn.*

On July 18th, the Duke of Wellington wrote to Lord Hill, as the senior of the three Gold Sticks, that the King was anxious to have their concerted opinion as to the relations that should exist between the Gold Stick and the Commander-in-Chief. He pointed out the inconvenience arising from the paramount authority in the Brigade which the Duke of Cumberland had arrogated to himself, and he submitted three alternative Orders for the King's pleasure, of which the following was the one selected :—

The King being anxious that his Guards should enjoy all the advantages which can be derived from the command and care of the General Officer Commanding-the-Army-in-Chief, and that they should be amalgamated as much as possible with the troops of the Line, and that their duties upon his Majesty's person should be conducted upon the same principles as those of the troops of the Line, has been pleased to order that the Colonels of the two regiments of Life Guards and the Colonel of the Horse Guards shall hereafter respectively make all their applications respecting promotions, exchanges, leaves of absence, &c., to the General Commanding-the-Army-in-Chief, in the same manner as the Colonels of the three regiments of Foot Guards ; and the General Commanding-the-Army-in-Chief will give such orders

* For some reason Lord Rosslyn did not receive the appointment.

as he may think necessary for the performance of the duties of honour over his Majesty's person, as well as of other duties within the metropolis and elsewhere, not excepting the Horse and Foot Guards, or any other troops.*

The Gold Stick will continue to perform the duty of that office, and will receive from his Majesty in person the parole and countersign; and will report to his Majesty in person as usual, as well as to the General Officer Commanding-the-Army-in-Chief. He will specially report the receipt of any order from the General Commanding-the-Army-in-Chief.

Lord Hill, in notifying the King's approval of the Order, emphasised in a memorandum that, while His Majesty had nominated himself Colonel-in-Chief of the three regiments, "to show his regard and esteem for these distinguished Corps," he wished it to be clearly understood that their discipline and exercise in the field were entirely under the control of the Commander-in-Chief, and that the Gold-Stick-in-Waiting must regard himself as an officer attending on the Sovereign and commanding the Escort and Guard.

The King's decision as to the Order provoked the Duke of Cumberland to fury, and on July 30th he wrote an angry and verbose letter, his subscription of himself as "most affectionate brother" being at variance both with the text of the missive and the existing relations between himself and the Sovereign:—

SIR,

By the Order intended to be issued to the Household Brigade, a copy of which has been transmitted to me, it appears to be your Majesty's intention that the three regiments, viz. the two regiments of Life Guards and the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, are to lose *those privileges formerly enjoyed* by them of being considered a *corps of itself*, under the immediate *command* of the *Sovereign*; and all *promotions*,

* The spirit of this Order dictated some further regulations at a later date:—"1831, February. All transfers and discharges of men and casting of horses to have the authority of the Commander-in-Chief."—"1831, August 18th. The Inspector-General of Cavalry is to inspect the Household Cavalry." (C.-in-C. *Letter-Book*.)

exchanges, leaves of absence, and orders are laid before the Sovereign by the Gold Stick for his *immediate* approbation, and then by the Gold Stick made known to the corps.

When his late Majesty, of blessed memory, did me the honour to appoint me Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, totally *unsolicited* by me ; and when he delivered to me himself the Gold Stick, he said, "I have had a new one made for you on purpose, and hope you will wear it, and do the duties of Gold Stick *to-morrow*, on my birthday (the 23rd of April, 1828) ; and as Frederick (the late Duke of York) refused the troop of Horse Guards, which afterwards the late Lord Amherst received, on account of *his objecting* to do the Gold Stick duty, *I have determined* to give it to you in a way that *I trust you can have no scruple in taking it*, namely, in giving it over to you. You are to consider yourself as *commanding la Maison du Roi*, and you will take the *command* ; and all commissions, exchanges, leaves of absence, &c., will be sent to *you*, and you will lay them before *me* for my approval, and you will issue *all orders* in *my* name." This was done in a manner that it was impossible for me to refuse ; and I did most willingly accept the situation, and did the duties of it, as I trust, with credit to myself and with some advantage to the corps, as I had got the whole system into some order and regularity, and there never has been any drawback in getting all the commissions and the necessary regulations sanctioned and approved by his late Majesty.

It appears now that your Majesty means to place the Gold Stick merely on the footing of a *Court office*, which certainly changes the whole character of the situation, as it ceases to be a *pure military one*.

Your Majesty has a complete right to do this, and I mean in no way to offer any remarks on your will and pleasure ; but I trust I may be permitted, in all due humility, to represent to your Majesty the *utter impossibility* I feel myself placed in of *retaining* a situation which by this change *can only be considered* as a Court situation, and which, as such, being a Prince of the Blood Royal, *I cannot hold*.

I must likewise beg to call your Majesty's attention to another point ; that having till now received all orders from the *Sovereign himself*, and having made all reports to the Sovereign himself, I cannot, as *eldest Field-Marshal* in the British army, next to his Grace the Duke of Wellington, receive orders from a General Officer junior to myself. I therefore beg most humbly to resign into your Majesty's hands the Gold Stick, and consequently the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, whose Colonel has the *privilege* of being a Gold Stick.

I trust that your Majesty will not misconceive my motives, but do me the justice to believe that in doing this I am actuated by no other feelings than to advance your wishes and orders. I can assure your Majesty that I should have felt proud to have acted in the same situation, and have done the same duties which I have till now done about his late Majesty's person equally zealously about yours, had it been your Majesty's will to have had the duties thus performed. I feel sure

that when your Majesty comes to consider over all I have taken the liberty here to submit to you, that you will be assured that however *much I must regret*, and whatever *pain I must feel* in being under the necessity of laying the *Gold Stick* and the *Regiment* at your feet, that I do it with those feelings of respect, love, and attachment that I shall always entertain for you.

Immediately on receipt of this letter the King curtly and conclusively replied :—

DEAR ERNEST,

I have this instant received yours of this day, and have only to regret that you consider it necessary to resign the command of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, in consequence of the order which has been communicated to you for the future regulation of the Household Brigade.

Ever, believe me, dearest Ernest,

Your most affectionate brother,

WILLIAM R.

Although the duties and position of the Gold Stick were thus determined, the appointment to the Colonelcy of the Blues proved a thorny question. The Marquess of Londonderry, who previous to his diplomatic career had highly distinguished himself as a cavalry officer, ardently coveted the post, and not unreasonably considered that his claims were justified by his past service and not merely dependent on his close friendship with the Duke of Wellington, to whom he was evidently reluctant to make a personal appeal. He apparently deputed Lord Castlereagh to approach the Duke, and that the interview was not wholly satisfactory may be inferred from his letter to the Duke of Buckingham (*Memoirs of Court and Cabinet*) :—

I did not keep my son ignorant of my position, &c. I thought he might possibly discover the Duke's intentions. I send you his letter of this morning, which pray return. I fear his view has been better than mine on this question; and it of course adds to my annoyance and mortification. But as you kindly undertook the communication, I do not like to keep you in ignorance of how it bears upon my nearest connexion. I think the Duke, even if Murray is to succeed Hill, would

hardly give the latter a cavalry regiment ; he having so recently received from the Crown the best military government going—Plymouth.

What is then to be done with the Blues ?

Ever yours most sincerely and gratefully,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

Nor were the Duke of Buckingham's own efforts more successful. The Duke of Wellington, though anxious to please an old friend, considered that to accord this favour would be to place a weapon in the hands of his political opponents, and he stated somewhat brusquely his determination not to use his office as a means of obliging his personal acquaintance.

Lord Londonderry seems to have considered that this decision of the Duke of Wellington might at any rate have been notified to him sooner, for he wrote bitterly to the Duke of Buckingham :—" It would have been more noble and less diplomatic towards you in the first instance if the D. of W. had manly avowed ' If the Blues are Lord L.'s object, he cannot have them ' ; as to have left the principal and his friend entirely in the dark."

In November, 1830, just before the Duke of Wellington resigned office, the Colonelcy was bestowed on Lord Hill, and Lord Londonderry—with even more than his usual shrewdness and even less than his usual command of grammar—remarked, " Lord Hill having the Blues and remaining looks strongly as if the Duke was still to pull the strings of the Army." It is pleasant to record that, thirteen years later, Lord Londonderry was very happily appointed to the command of the Second Life Guards.*

* A letter from Lord Londonderry to Lord Combermere, written while they were respectively colonels of the First and Second Life Guards, and when Lord Anglesey was colonel of the Blues, exhibits his views as to smoking :—

DEAR COTTON,—What think you of our Chief's order as to cigars and cheroots ? Will his moral and military influence persuade when parents' advice is thrown by the board ? What are the gold sticks

to do with that sink of smoking, the Horse Guards' guard- and mess-rooms? Whenever I have visited it, I have found it *worse* than any pot-house, and this opposite an Adjutant-General, and under His Grace's nose. *You* are gold-stick-in-waiting, &c., so commence your discipline; you are senior, and should set Anglesey and me an example. You may be sure at least *I* will follow.

Another bad habit our chaps have—of not dining with the officers of the guard at St. James's. This they do only to indulge more in cheroots, &c., early and late. Surely this ought to be stopped, or, likely enough, the Duke will order the dinner for the guard to be reformed.

APPENDIX

APPENDED are two Orders of August, 1832, both relating to the ceremony of the 13th of that month, on the occasion of the King's presentation of a Royal Standard to the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards (Blue), which took place on Queen Adelaide's birthday.

HORSE GUARDS,
August 6th, 1832.

Memorandum.

The Kettle-Drums* and Standards of the Household Brigade are to be arranged in St. George's Hall, on the 13th instant, according to the Orders received by Sir J. Wyatville from His Majesty for that purpose.

Each Regiment will furnish Sentries for its Kettle-Drums and Standards.

The Blues will furnish Four Sentries and the Life Guards Two each, for this purpose, Armed with Swords.

These Sentries will take the Stations that shall be allotted to them in St. George's Hall, and will be relieved by their respective Regiments every Hour during the Banquet.

The Colours of the 2nd Battn. of the Scotch Fusilier Guards will be placed in St. George's Hall fronting the Kettle-Drums and Standards, and the Serjeant Major and Six Colour Serjeants of that Battalion will stand before the Colours, armed with Fusils.

The Two Regiments of Life Guards will likewise furnish Two Sentries each for the Doors at each end of the Hall, and relieve them in like manner.

The Senior Corporal Major of the Household Brigade, and One Corporal per Regiment, and One Private per Troop from each Regiment of the Brigade, to proceed to the Castle with the Kettle-Drums and

* The silver kettle-drums given to the Royal Horse Guards (Blue) by King George the Third were meant—in the words of the inscription—as “a testimonial of its honourable and military conduct on all occasions.” *Vide* CHAPTER LVIII., p. 532.

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Standards, the moment the Field Ceremony is over, and remain till the Kettle-Drums and Standards leave the Castle.

By command of The Rt. Honorable

The General Commanding in Chief,

JOHN MACDONALD.

WINDSOR,

August 12th, 1832.

G.G.O.

The following Corps will assemble to-morrow at eleven o'clock in Close Columns in the little Park in rear of an Alignment which will be pointed out on their Arrival the right resting on the Castle and the left on the extremity of the Plantation of Adelaide Cottage.

The Columns will place themselves in the following order from the Right :—

Royal Horse Artillery, 3 guns ;
1st Life Guards ;
Royal Horse Guards, 2 Squadrons ;
Detachment Battalion of Guards ;
2nd Batt. Scots Fusilier Guards ;
Royal Horse Guards, 2 Squadrons ;
2nd Life Guards ;
Royal Horse Artillery, 3 guns.

By order,

WHITE ROSS, M.B.

The last time King William the Fourth's Standard was carried on duty in the Regiment was on the occasion of Queen Victoria's return to Windsor from London during the celebration of her Golden Jubilee. Her Majesty was escorted from Slough Station to Windsor Castle by a Captain's escort with this Standard on June 22nd, 1887. It was carried by Corporal-Major Instructor of Fencing G. McLaren.* On the same occasion the statue erected to Queen Victoria opposite the White Hart Hotel was unveiled by the Queen herself.

* It having been reported that the Standard's peculiar make and enormous weight precluded its flying, there was a suggestion in favour of a duplicate banner for actual use, the original being carefully kept as a relic. The Commander-in-Chief, however, decided that the Standard, as a personal gift, could neither be maintained nor replaced at the public expense.



GUIDON OF THE SECOND TROOP HORSE GRENADIER GUARDS, 1788.
From an illustration in "Standards and Colours of the British Army," by S. M. Milne.

CHAPTER LXXI

ALTHOUGH during the reign of Queen Victoria scarcely a year passed without some operations of war, the Household Cavalry—except as represented by officers selected for Special Service—did not for forty-five years take the field. Some account of the three campaigns in Africa in which they were engaged will be attempted in succeeding chapters.

Outside the discharge of routine duties, the history of the Life Guards and Blues until 1882 is chiefly identified with a long line of ceremonial occasions, whether incidental to the domestic circumstances of a Court, or arising from the visits paid to this country by foreign potentates. If State pageants have a practical value in the economy of government—a point about which in these days there can be little difference of opinion—it may safely be said that the impressive part played in them by the Queen's body-guard availed in a conspicuous degree to lend dignity and distinction to the functions of State—festival or funereal—in which they were engaged.

It would be tedious to enumerate even the chief of the frequently recurring historic occasions on which the Household Cavalry supplied the appropriate setting to picturesque scenes enacted by illustrious personages. Of these some of the more salient were the Coronation and the marriage of the young Queen ; * the solemn act of thanksgiving at

* *The Annual Register* (1840, p. 6) records that the procession was closed, not, as was stated, by six Yeomen of the Guard, but by two officers in polished cuirasses and dirty boots who commanded the squadron of Life Guards on duty at the Palace.

St. Paul's Cathedral for the recovery of the Heir Apparent in 1872; and the Jubilees of 1887 and 1897, on the latter of which occasions mounted troops from the Sovereign's dominions across the seas were associated with the Household Cavalry in the escort.

There were also the melancholy functions connected with the obsequies of such illustrious personages as Queen Adelaide in 1849 and the Prince Consort in 1861, or of great soldiers who had been intimately associated with the Household Cavalry. Of these the ceremony of supreme national importance was the public funeral of the Duke of Wellington in 1852, when the Second Life Guards supplied an escort under the command of an officer who subsequently became a Roman Cardinal. The funerals of two Colonels of the Royal Horse Guards—the Marquess of Anglesey and Lord Raglan—occurred in 1854 and 1855, when escorts were furnished by their old Regiment.

The grand military reviews held during this reign, in almost all of which the Household Cavalry bore some part, occurred too frequently for any attempt even to record them. The first of any importance took place in connection with the Queen's Coronation in 1838, and was of course attended by the representatives of foreign Powers. At this review Marshal Soult, who was using Napoleon's stirrups, was very nearly unhorsed by the sudden snapping of the stirrup leathers! An event of peculiar interest to the Household Cavalry was the review held by Queen Victoria in Windsor Park on July 14th, 1880, when the Prince of Wales, who had just been gazetted their Colonel-in-Chief, led the brigade past the saluting point.

A memorable beginning of the now familiar system of military manœuvres was made in 1853 by the establishment of the camp at Chobham, where the little army, numbering between 8,000 and 10,000 men, under the command of Lord Seaton, and including—with other

regiments—the brigade of Guards, the First Life Guards, and the Blues, was in June reviewed by the Queen.

Seldom was the presence of the Household Cavalry more appropriate than at the removal in 1846 of the gigantic equestrian statue—now at Aldershot—of the Duke of Wellington from the sculptor's studio to its position at Hyde Park Corner, the statue being escorted on either side by twenty Life Guardsmen, another detachment of whom closed the procession.

A subject of less agreeable reminiscences is the assistance rendered by the Household Cavalry in the maintenance or the restoration of public order at times of popular excitement. During the Chartist agitation in 1848 a detachment of Horse Guards with Marines was one day stationed at Waterloo Bridge; three squadrons of the same regiment being on a subsequent occasion moved through the City and posted in Finsbury and Clerkenwell; while another detachment of the Blues was sent to occupy a farm on the outskirts of Bishop Bonner's Fields.* An even graver crisis occurred in 1866, when the mob assembled at the time of the "Reform" movement had forcibly broken into Hyde Park and were charged repeatedly by the Life Guards. A somewhat pale replica of these scenes occurred in connection with the troubles in Trafalgar Square twenty years later.

Queen Victoria, in the year 1845, settled the long vexed question of the uniform of the Household Cavalry on the lines on which it has since been retained without material alteration.

Important regulations had been laid down in 1830 on the subject of what were long known as "mustachios." This appendage was in that year forbidden to all cavalry except the Life Guards, the Royal Horse Guards, and several regiments of the Hussars; while the hair of all

* Afterwards enclosed to form Victoria Park.

N.C.O.'s and soldiers was ordered "to be cut close, instead of being worn in the bushy and unbecoming manner adopted by some regiments." In 1854 a greater latitude in respect of the moustache was at last conceded to the Army.

Agreeably with the Sovereign's wishes the appointments to the colonelcies of the Household Cavalry lost all trace of political complexion, the Gold Sticks being offered only to veterans who had distinguished themselves on the battle-field. Thus in the First Life Guards Viscount Combermere was succeeded by the Earl of Lucan who commanded the Cavalry, and by Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar who commanded a brigade, in the Crimea. In the Second Life Guards the Marquess of Tweeddale—who had served with great distinction in the Peninsula, where he was severely wounded—Lord Templetown and Earl Howe were worthy and most appropriate successors to Earl Cathcart.

After the lamented death of Lord Raglan at the head of the British forces in the Crimea, the colonelcy of the Blues was vested successively in Viscount Gough and Lord Strathnairn, whose services in India had raised them to the highest military eminence, and in Viscount Wolseley, whose name must always occupy a foremost place in the annals of war.

A protracted discussion took place in 1860 over proposed economies affecting the Life Guards. Mr. Sidney Herbert, at that time Secretary of State for War, was persuaded by the Premier, Mr. Gladstone, to suggest that the establishment of eight troops should be reduced to six. The officers and non-commissioned officers of the suppressed troops would thus be disposed of and their pay saved, while the men would be distributed among the remaining troops.

Needless to say, the suggestion encountered the strongest opposition. Lord Combermere, the senior Gold Stick, drafted a very strong letter,* in which he

* *Regimental Papers, 1st Life Guards.*

pointed out to the War Minister that the duties of the officers were already as heavy as could possibly be borne, that the guards were so frequent as to impose most irksome confinement on subalterns, and that it would be impossible for the service of the Sovereign to be adequately discharged if the complement of officers were reduced. He further represented that such reduction would inevitably be followed by a great difficulty in obtaining candidates for commissions in the Household Cavalry.

A further question arose regarding the entire equalisation of pay in the Brigade, the privates of the Life Guards being in receipt of 3*d.* a day more than the Blues. As their status was by that time absolutely equal and their duties identical, the difference of remuneration was wholly unreasonable. It furthermore gave rise to unpleasant remarks and cheap jokes, which on one occasion took the form of a cartoon representing the Life Guards paying for the Blues' boots.

Thirty years previously the officers of the Blues had petitioned successfully that they might rank for pay with their colleagues in the Life Guards. In answer to a letter from the King asking whether any decision had been arrived at with regard to the pay of the officers in the Blues, Earl Grey wrote, on October 27th, 1831, that "it might be expedient" to grant the petition, "though no strict claim of right could be urged in favour of it," adding that "while there existed a case even of doubtful complaint, it was better that the Government should take upon itself the burthen, especially when, as in this case, it was so inconsiderable, rather than incur a suspicion of dealing hardly or unjustly." (*Correspondence of Earl Grey and Wm. IV.*)

It was high time that the same justice should now be done in the case of the lower ranks. The reduction of the number of troops was negatived, but the matter of the pay simmered for some time. The grievance was finally

determined in 1867. A Royal Warrant issued that year to increase the rate of pay throughout the army announced that, in view of the exceptional rates of pay granted to the Household Cavalry, it was not proposed to extend the additional grant to all ranks of the three Regiments, but that the opportunity would be taken to assimilate the rates of pay in the Life Guards and Royal Horse Guards. The principal net result as regards the private soldiers was that in the Life Guards the trooper's daily pay was increased from 1s. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to 2s. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d., while his colleague in the Blues leapt to the latter rate from his former remuneration of 1s. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.

The subjoined table exhibits the changes made in the rates of pay :—

RATES OF PAY OF THE N.C.O.'s AND PRIVATES OF THE
HOUSEHOLD CAVALRY.

	Before 1867.		1867.
	Life Guards.	Royal Horse Guards Blue.	Life Guards and Royal Horse Guards Blue.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Corporal-Major, regimental . . .	4 2	4 2	4 4
" " troop	3 8	3 8	3 10
Farrier-Major	4 0	3 9	4 1
" Corporal	3 2	2 11	3 3
Corporal	2 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	2 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	2 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Shoeing-smith	2 7	2 4	2 8
Trumpeter appointed before	2 6	2 0	2 7
" " since	2 1	1 10	2 2
Private	1 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	2 0 $\frac{1}{4}$
[Corporal-Instructor of Musketry— allowed in regiments using breech- loading carbines.]	3 0	3 0	

In the course of a debate in the House of Commons on March 24th, 1871, some remarks were made of a character highly depreciatory of the Household Cavalry. Their utility was called in question on the ground (1) that the

day for heavy cavalry was now over; that (2) during the late war between France and Germany the most useful horse regiments were "light cavalry such as the Uhlans"; and that (3) the Household Cavalry were merely ornamental and never went upon escort except upon State occasions. It was further urged that (4) the expenditure on their upkeep was extravagant, a considerable portion of it being due to the needless splendour of their uniforms; and that (5) the nocturnal "revels of Knightsbridge" indicated considerable laxity of moral discipline.

The occasion elicited an admirable speech from Captain the Hon. R. Talbot, First Life Guards—known later as Lieut.-General the Hon. Sir Reginald Talbot, K.C.B.*—at that time M.P. for Stafford, whose defence of the Household Cavalry was as spirited as it was convincing:—

CAPTAIN TALBOT, deprecating any comparison between a troop-horse and a hunter, observed that the former is not required to go at great speed for many miles, jumping fences. He has to carry a great weight, often for many hours, but the speed is seldom beyond a good trot, except on occasion and for a comparatively short distance.

Proceeding to contrast the British cavalry with the Prussian, Captain Talbot showed that the Prussian cavalry was essentially heavy—that it included no really light cavalry. He combated the notion that the Uhlan was a light cavalryman—a small active man on a small wiry horse, whose mobility was due to his lightness. In point of fact, the Uhlans were heavy cavalry, coming indeed next in weight to the Cuirassiers. The Uhlan was a large man, armed with a heavy lance, sword, and side arm—larger upon the average than, for instance, the men of our 9th Lancers.

Roughly estimated, the Prussian Cuirassiers were, in Captain Talbot's opinion, about equal to our Household Cavalry; the Uhlans to our heavy cavalry—the 1st and 2nd Dragoons and the 4th and 5th Dragoon Guards; the Prussian Dragoons to our intermediate cavalry

* Hon. Reginald Arthur James Talbot, joined 1st Life Guards, Zulu war 1879, Egyptian campaign, medal with clasp and 4th cl. Osmanieh '82, Nile exped. '84-5, C.B. '85, lt. col. com. 1st Life Guards '86-8, mil. attaché Paris '89-'95, maj. gen. com. cav. brig. Aldershot '96-9, lt. gen. com. army of occup. Egypt '99-1903, K.C.B. '02, governor of Victoria (Austr.) '04.

—the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 6th and 7th Dragoon Guards and the Inniskillings. The Prussian Army included no cavalry so light as our Hussars and Lancers.

The comparative weights of the Prussian and the English cavalry—the former being given on the authority of Count Lehndorff, Master of the Horse to the German Emperor, and the latter taken from an official book at the War Office, compiled by Captain Hozier—were as follows:—

Prussian Cuirassier 22 stone 9 lb.

British Household Cavalryman 21 stone 13 lb.

Prussian Uhlan 20 stone 8 lb.

British Dragoon 19 stone 6 lb.

Prussian Hussar 19 stone 7 lb.

British Hussar 19 stone or less.

In the judgment of the best Prussian officers the services of the heavy horse during the War had been invaluable.

Referring to other erroneous statements made about the Household Cavalry, Captain Talbot observed that they constantly went upon escort—the Second Life Guards having, as it happened, formed a travelling escort no longer ago than the previous day. If the Queen had been escorted in London by light cavalry, it was not because the Household Cavalry were unfitted for the duty, but because their ordinary work was already very severe. No troops—except, perhaps, the Royal Horse Artillery—had anything like the work of the Household Cavalry troopers. In London, one night in four, they were on night duty; each man had one horse to clean daily, and every fourth day two horses. Their accoutrements required much extra labour. The distance they had to go to drill was exceptionally great, the horses having to traverse ten or twelve miles of road. Fatigue duties were heavier in proportion, owing to the smallness of the regiments; and there were, besides, all the duties, escorts, etc., entailed upon them as the Royal Body-guard.

On the score of expense, the speaker showed from the Army estimates that the cost of the dress was £8 15s. per annum, out of which sum had to be found saddlery, accoutrements, and repairs of every kind. In the line cavalry the yearly expense per man for clothing and appointments might be set down at £5 2s. 6d., but to this must be added the cost of clothing establishments, share of non-commissioned officers' clothing, saddlery, etc., repairs and recruiting expenses—an addition which would bring the total to a figure not far short of that quoted for the Household Cavalry.

There was admittedly a great difference between the Household and the other cavalry in respect of their cost to the country. But this was due chiefly to the difference in the respective scales of pay.

A trooper in the Household Cavalry cost the nation £100 per annum:—

	£
Clothing, purchase of horses, forage, etc., fuel and light .	35
Pay, per man per diem, at 2s. 0¼d.	35
Extra pay, good conduct pay, N.C.O.'s, officers and hon. colonel, divided by the number of troopers	30

£100

A private in the Dragoons, on the other hand, represents an annual cost of £80:—

	£
Clothing, purchase of horses, forage, etc., fuel and light .	34
Pay, per man per diem, at 1s. 5d., nearly	26
Extra pay, etc., as above	20

£80

In connection with the difference of pay it should be stated that a trooper in the Household Cavalry had to find his kit, amounting to some £5, on joining, and that living was more expensive in London than in other quarters.

In return for, and as the result of, this extra pay there was the good behaviour of the troops. Good pay procured good men, while hard work and strict discipline kept them out of mischief.

He repudiated, not only on the authority of other eye-witnesses, but on the strength of his constant personal observation, the wild and baseless allegations as to "Knightsbridge revels." It was a matter susceptible of documentary proof that in the Household Cavalry crime—whether in the military or in the civil sense—was very rare; drunkenness being quite exceptional. The figures for the three Regiments did not differ much. In his own Regiment, the First Life Guards, the average for courts-martial during ten years was 1 per 1,000 per annum, cases of drunkenness being 2 per cent. per annum; while of men suffering from contagious diseases the average in hospital was never above 1 per cent. The consequence was a larger proportion of men available for duty. To have acquired a body of men so highly disciplined and so well conducted as the direct result of granting good pay was an argument rather for extending it to other regiments than for destroying the regiments upon which the effect had been so excellent. It was certain that, without fair pay, the best men would not be obtained.

As to the efficiency of the Household Cavalry, the reports of the inspecting officers—selected from the line cavalry—had year after year been couched in terms highly complimentary to their discipline and efficiency. H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, the Commander-in-Chief,

addressing two of the Regiments in August, 1870, had testified to their excellent condition and drill, and had concluded his address in the following terms:—

“In my opinion you are fit to go anywhere to do any duty you may be called upon to perform. Continue, as for many years past, your course of good military conduct, and you will be, as you have always been, the pride of the Service.”

Captain Talbot's speech was very well received by the House of Commons. The time was to come some years later, as will be recorded in subsequent chapters, when the Commander-in-Chief's good opinion of the fitness of the Household Cavalry to fulfil any duty laid upon them would be amply and strikingly justified.

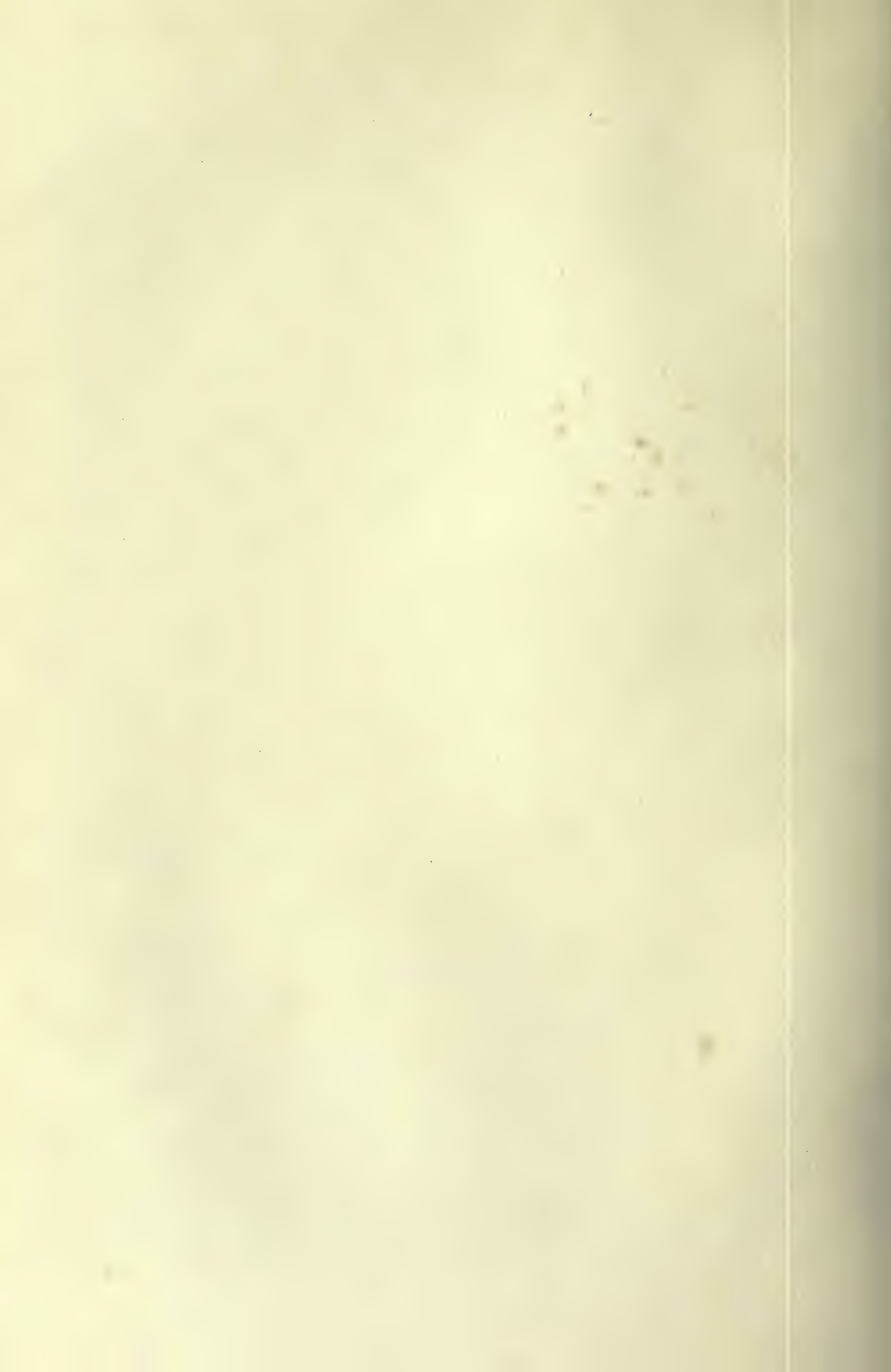
In the last year of her reign, Queen Victoria—whose wishes on the subject had for years been subordinated to the advice tendered by the responsible Ministers of the Crown—paid a long-deferred and eagerly anticipated visit to Ireland. A Field Officer's escort, composed in equal proportions of the First and Second Life Guards, was detailed, and found its most onerous duty in restraining the enthusiasm of the vast crowds whose exuberant welcomes bade fair to overwhelm their august visitor.

No other Sovereign was ever a kinder or more steadfast friend to the Household Cavalry than Queen Victoria. Their prestige and their privileges were dear to her, and she was a vigilant guardian and staunch upholder of both. In her eyes no detail of their equipment was too insignificant for her critical notice, while in graver matters—such as those affecting the continuity of their status or the maintenance of their welfare—they could be sure of her warm sympathy and wise support.



E. NATHAN
1909

THE KETTLE DRUMMER, 1ST LIFE GUARDS.



CHAPTER LXXII

S OON after his appointment to the Colonelcy-in-Chief of the Household Cavalry, representations were made to the Heir-Apparent as to the advisability of settling a question which had arisen as to the relative precedence of the Silver Stick and the Field-Officer-in-Brigade-Waiting. By the Prince of Wales's advice the Queen commanded Lord Esher, Master of the Rolls, to examine the point historically, and to report to her thereon. Lord Esher's opinion—which was given in favour of the Silver Stick—and the Sovereign's orders in accordance therewith, are here reproduced in full:—

POSITION AND DUTIES OF GOLD AND SILVER STICKS IN WAITING.

Osborne,
17th August, 1889.

SIR,

Lord Esher has sent his award in the case of the precedence between Silver Stick and Field Officer.

He has gone very carefully into the whole question, and founds his decision on the duties of the two Officers. He finds that Silver Stick, from the time of Henry VIII.,* was placed with Gold Stick, close to the Sovereign's person to protect him from danger, and thus his Office is one of personal service to the Monarch, whereas the Field Officer in Brigade Waiting is only at Court for the purpose of taking the King's commands for his Guards.

Lord Esher therefore advises the Queen to give precedence claimed to Silver Stick, and to direct that he shall ride or walk, in all processions, on the right, and that the Field Officer shall ride or walk on the left.

* This is an entire mistake. See the conclusion of this CHAPTER.

Her Majesty will issue orders in accordance with Lord Esher's advice, which the Queen entirely adopts.

I have the honour to be,

Your Royal Highness's

Most obedient, humble Servant,

HENRY PONSONBY.

(Enclosure.)

Royal Courts of Justice,
9th August, 1889.

Lord Esher, Master of the Rolls, humbly submits his duty to Her Majesty the Queen, and begs to lay before Her Majesty that he has carefully inquired into and considered the matter referred to him by Her Majesty's gracious command, contained in a letter from Sir Henry Ponsonby, dated the fifth of May, 1889.

Lord Esher has been assisted by statements of facts and by arguments laid before him by General Keith Fraser in favour of the view that precedence should be given to Silver Stick, and by General Percy Feilding in favour of the view that precedence should be with the Field Officer in Brigade Waiting.

Lord Esher has seen the facts collected by Garter King of Arms, and Lord Esher has caused search to be made at the British Museum and in the Record Office for statements and pictures of old historical ceremonies. Several were found, but unfortunately nothing in them or in any facts laid before Lord Esher to enable him to report to Her Majesty that there has been any uniform practice on State occasions, or indeed, to state what was the actual state of things on more than one or two such occasions. Lord Esher submits to Her Majesty that it is in his opinion impossible to solve the question by any reliable evidence of ancient practice. There is not sufficient evidence of practice to be a safe guide. Lord Esher submits to Her Majesty that the safer and truer course in order to determine the relative position of two Officers with regard to Her Majesty is to consider what inferences arise from the duties assigned to the Officers at the first institution of the Offices which they hold. It is the duties which were entrusted to them at the first institution of their offices which should govern their precedence, because there has been no change ordained in either their duties or rank, so that their rank remains the same, although their duties have not been called into action. The institution of the offices of the Gold and Silver Sticks is to be found in the Standing Orders of the Second Life Guards. Lord Esher has not been able to find the original in the Record Office.

It is in these words: "In consequence of a conspiracy existing in 1528 (which is in the Reign of the King Henry VIII.),* the King's

* The words enclosed within brackets are not in the Standing Orders. They are Lord Esher's own, and evidently meant as an explanation

Person was supposed to be in danger, it was therefore ordered that one of the Captains commanding the Life Guards should wait next to His Majesty's person before all others, carrying in his hand an Ebony staff with a Gold Head, engraved with His Majesty's Cypher and Crown. Another principal Officer was ordered to be near the Captain to relieve him occasionally. They were to be in attendance on the King's person wherever he walked, from his rising to his going to bed, except in the Royal Bed Chamber."

The duties imposed upon these Officers was one of the very highest trust. The cause recited shows that they were to guard the very person of the King from actual bodily injury, against a personal attack, and that they were to do so with their own hands and body. Their duty did not depend upon the presence of troops. Their duty was to be fulfilled by themselves personally. The first was to be near His Majesty's Person before all others. The second was to be near the first. He was to relieve him occasionally. That is to say, he was to be so near the first as to be able to step at once into his place, next to His Majesty's person, before all others. It is obvious that he would have not only to relieve the first by replacing him in his absence, but by assisting him when present. It is impossible to suppose that Officers having such high trust so constantly close to the King's person, would not have a high Court rank and precedence. And these were given them by the ordinary Court token of the highest Court rank, namely, that they each carried a Staff. This Staff was not a weapon; it was therefore obviously a token of rank, of high rank.

The first evidence of the institution of the duties of the Field Officer in Brigade Waiting is to be found in two letters written by command of Her Majesty Queen Anne, in the year 1711.

The first is dated "Whitehall, 9th August, 1711.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Her Majesty having thought fit that a Field Officer of the Foot Guards be always in waiting upon Her Royal person in like manner as she is attended by an Officer of the Horse Guards, I am commanded to acquaint you with Her Majesty's pleasure herein, and that she expects a compliance therewith as soon as may be.

"G. GRANVILLE."

Addressed to the Officer in Chief
with the 2nd Regiment of Guards.

The second letter is dated "Windsor, August 15th, 1711.

"SIR,

"Her Majesty has commanded me to signify to you that it is Her Majesty's pleasure a Field Officer belonging to one of Her Regiments

of the date which he supposed to be the true one. See the conclusion of this CHAPTER.

of Foot Guards do duty at Her Palace as was formerly practised in the Reign of King Charles the Second, for the better preservation of good order and discipline near the Royal Person.

“G. GRANVILLE.”

Addressed to Major-General Homes.

The inference to be drawn from this last letter seems to be that there had arisen a practice in the reign of King Charles the Second of the attendance of a Field Officer of the Foot Guards, but that the practice had been intermittent or had fallen into disuse, and was by Queen Anne ordained in form and for continuance.

The chief point, however, is to consider in this case also the nature and extent of the duty assigned to this Officer.

He is to preserve order and discipline. He cannot preserve order by himself. He is to preserve discipline. The inference seems to be that he is to preserve order by means of troops, which troops are to be kept in discipline. He is to preserve order “near the Royal Person,” but he is not to be next to the Sovereign’s Person before all others. His duty seems to be a military more than a Court duty. It is difficult to conclude that this Military Officer was to take precedence of the two great Court Officers. And even if this Officer is properly to be considered a Court Officer of the same kind as the others and his duty to be similar to theirs, it seems difficult to infer that, without any words to intimate such a purpose, he was intended to take precedence of either of the more anciently appointed Officers. The precedence suggested is not a precedence over the Gold Stick. It is not disputed that Silver Stick must take the place and precedence of Gold Stick when that Officer is absent. If, then, Silver Stick is to be in precedence below the Field Officer in Brigade Waiting when all three Officers are present, then, if at any moment Gold Stick retires, Silver Stick is then to pass above the Field Officer and take precedence of him.

Such results seem to present an anomaly.

These considerations have led Lord Esher to the conclusion, in the absence of any really reliable evidence of continuous practice, that it is his duty humbly to advise Her Majesty that it was in the beginning intended that both Gold and Silver Sticks should have high precedence; and that it was not intended, when the Office of the Field Officer in Brigade Waiting was formally instituted, by the command of Her Majesty Queen Anne, that an office should be created of higher dignity than either the one or the other.

Lord Esher humbly submits to Her Majesty, that Silver Stick be declared by Her Majesty to have precedence over the Field Officer in Brigade Waiting in all State ceremonies and on all occasions at Court.

Lord Esher ventures to advise that in Carriage processions when Gold Stick is on horseback, his place should be declared by Her

Majesty to be next to the right wheel of Her carriage, and the place of the Silver Stick close behind Gold Stick, on therefore the right side of Her Majesty's carriage; whilst the place of the Field Officer in Brigade Waiting should be next to the left wheel of Her Majesty's carriage; and when Gold Stick is not mounted that the place of Silver Stick should be next to the right wheel of Her Majesty's carriage, whilst the place of the Field Officer in Brigade Waiting should at the same time be next to the left wheel of Her Majesty's carriage.

Lord Esher ventures to advise further, that Her Majesty should declare that under all circumstances at Court the Silver Stick is to have precedence of the Field Officer in Brigade Waiting.

Lord Esher submits these views to Her Majesty in obedience to Her Majesty's gracious command.

Lord Esher does so after having considered the matter with the greatest care, but leaves the decision where it ought to be and must be absolutely to Her Majesty's better judgment, to Her Majesty as the sole and undoubted Arbiter between the conflicting views of the parties.

Lord Esher finally subscribes himself as
Her Most Gracious Majesty's
Humble and obedient Servant.

ESHER,
Master of the Rolls.

Balmoral,
30th August, 1889.

MY DEAR LORD CHAMBERLAIN,

You will remember that after the Jubilee, the Prince of Wales, as Colonel in Chief of the Household Cavalry, appealed to the Queen against the precedence given to the Field Officer in Brigade Waiting over Silver Stick in the procession of the 21st of June.

Her Majesty referred the question to Garter, and as nothing was done at the beginning of this year the Prince of Wales again appealed, and Her Majesty decided to ask the opinion of others on the point raised.

The Household Cavalry chose Major-General Keith Fraser to represent their views of the case, and the Brigade of Guards named Lieutenant-General the Hon. Percy Feilding as their advocate.

The Queen suggested Lord Esher to listen to their arguments and to advise her on the subject, which he has done.

The Queen now commands me to let you know that Her Majesty declares Silver Stick to have precedence over Field Officer in Brigade Waiting.

That in carriage processions when these Officers ride, Silver Stick should ride near the right hand wheel of the Queen's carriage, and Field Officer in Brigade Waiting near the left hand wheel of the Queen's carriage.

But that neither of the Officers shall interfere in any way with the position of the Officers of the Escort.

That in walking processions the Silver Stick shall walk on the right and the Field Officer in Brigade Waiting on the left, and in short, that in all State and Court ceremonies the position of Silver Stick shall rank before that of the Field Officer in Brigade Waiting.

Yours very truly, H^y. PONSONBY.

As a matter of fact, the date given in the Standing Orders of the Second Life Guards is not "1528," but "1578"—an obvious clerical error for 1678 (see CHAPTER XII.). This misled Lord Esher, who, knowing that 1578 fell in Queen Elizabeth's reign, antedated the institution of the Gold and the Silver Sticks by 50 years more. The mistake does not affect the gist of the argument employed by the Master of the Rolls, as the post of Field Officer in Brigade Waiting was instituted by Queen Anne. But it has a distinct bearing on several of the learned judge's *obiter dicta*, and fully accounts for the failure "to find the original in the Record Office" amongst the papers of Henry the Eighth. What is more important—the suggestion that King Henry was attended by a Gold Stick is not sustained.*

* See CHAPTER I.

CHAPTER LXXIII

IN the year 1882 the unrest which had long prevailed in Egypt reached a climax in the rebellion of Arabi Pasha against the authority of the Khédive, Tewfik, who three years before had replaced his father, Ismail, on the deposition of the latter. Arabi claimed to represent a Nationalist movement whose policy was summed up in the phrase "Egypt for the Egyptians." The outbreak of the rebellion acted as a solvent of the Dual Control which England and France had some years before jointly established. Ever since the days of Napoleon France had cherished a sentimental longing to be supreme in Egypt. To England a political predominance in Egypt, lying on her high road to India, was absolutely vital. France played a bold card by the construction of the Suez Canal; England trumped it by the purchase of a predominant number of shares in the ownership of the new waterway. Neither Government was disposed to yield to the other, yet neither wanted war. In Ismail's time a hollow compromise was effected by the establishment of the joint control known as the "Condominium." Such a *bizarre* connection was obviously destined to break under the first serious strain, and Arabi's action snapped it. France hesitated to intervene effectively, and in the event refrained from active interference; England, also after some hesitation, decided to suppress the revolt by armed force. From that day forward a supremacy wholly British became inevitable,

and its formal acknowledgment by the rest of Europe—France included—was merely a question of time.

Within a month of the mutiny and massacre at Alexandria and the establishment of Arabi's dictatorship the British Fleet on July 11th bombarded the rebels' earth-works at Alexandria—a force of blue-jackets and marines being afterwards landed to restore order. Three days later Sir Archibald Alison arrived in Cyprus to take command of a contingent drawn from Malta and Gibraltar, which on July 17th landed in Egypt. Taking up a position which enabled him to cover a concentration of troops at Alexandria, Alison awaited the arrival of the expedition decided upon by the British Government.

Sir Garnet Wolseley had on July 3rd been appointed to take the supreme command, and at once began to organise his field army: one of the earliest appointments being that of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught to the command of the Brigade of Guards.

The cavalry, which eventually came under the general command of Sir Drury Lowe, consisted of the Household Cavalry, the 4th and the 7th Dragoon Guards, with Sir Baker Russell as Brigadier;* the 19th Hussars, which was employed independently, and three regiments of Indian Cavalry led by Brigadier-General Wilkinson.

The Household Cavalry was determined on this occasion not to be "out of it," and the senior commanding officer, Colonel Keith Fraser, had made urgent and repeated representations to the War Office, both as to their keen desire to be included in the expedition, and their undoubted fitness for active service. It was finally settled to send out a composite regiment, consisting of a full service squadron—comprising one major, one captain, four subalterns, and

* Colonel Ewart was actually senior to Sir Baker, but he waived his claim to the Brigade so as to retain the immediate command of the Household Cavalry Regiment.

153 N.C.O.'s and men—from each of the three regiments. Colonel Keith Fraser, whose command expired that month, realised, to his bitter disappointment, that his regimental service could not be prolonged. The command of the Household Cavalry Regiment therefore devolved upon Colonel H. Ewart,* Second Life Guards.

The officers selected, almost exclusively by seniority, were :—

FIRST LIFE GUARDS :—Major the Hon. R. Talbot

Major Needham

Captain Sir S. Lockhart

Lieutenant Miles

Lieutenant Lord Rodney

Lieutenant Calley

Lieutenant Leigh

Lieutenant Hamilton, Surgeon

SECOND LIFE GUARDS :—Major Townshend

Captain Tennant

Lieutenant Smith Cuninghame

Lieutenant Abdy

Lieutenant the Hon. W. Hanbury

Lieutenant French

Surgeon-Major Hume Spry

Lieut. Rostron, Vet. Surgeon

ROYAL HORSE GUARDS :—Col. Milne Hume (Second in Command)

Major the Hon. O. Montagu

~~(Adjutant)~~

Captain Brocklehurst

Captain Wickham (Adjutant)

* Henry Peter Ewart, b. 1838, 2nd Life Guards '58, com. the regt. '78, com. the Household Cavalry in Egypt '82 (mentioned in despatches, cr. C.B.), com. Cavalry Brigade in Sudan '85 (cr. K.C.B.), maj.-gen., col. 7th D.G.'s 1900, cr. G.C.V.O. '02.

ROYAL HORSE GUARDS :—Lieutenant Lord E. Somerset
 Lieutenant Brocklehurst
 Lieutenant Childe Pemberton
 Lieutenant Selwyn
 Lieutenant Lord Binning (Signal-
 ling Officer)
 Lieutenant Sir J. Willoughby
 (extra)*

The illustrious Colonel-in-Chief earnestly requested that his services might be employed, and his request was duly forwarded by the Commander-in-Chief to the Secretary of State, who replied :—

“ It is highly creditable to the pluck and spirit of the Prince to wish to run the risks both to health and life which the campaign offers, but it is clearly undesirable that H.R.H. should go. This is one of the penalties which attach to his high position.”†

The Prince of Wales interested himself keenly in every detail connected with the well-being of the contingents which he inspected at Hyde Park Barracks—the First Life Guards and the Blues on July 31st, and the Second Life Guards on their arrival from Windsor the following day.

* The Earl of Caledon and Lord Castletown, formerly officers of the First Life Guards, were attached to their old Regiment for duty in Egypt. Lieut. Sir George Arthur, Second Life Guards, was attached to the 19th Hussars, and served as orderly officer to General Wilkinson. A detachment—consisting of 1 officer, 1 corporal-major 1 corporal-of-horse, 1 corporal, and 22 troopers, from each of the three Regiments—proceeded for duty at the remount dépôt, Cyprus. A draft which sailed for Egypt on September 13th—the day of Tel-el-Kebir—was, on reaching Malta, re-shipped to England, the war being over.

† This was not the only occasion on which the Prince of Wales volunteered for active service. Two years later, on the occasion of the Gordon relief expedition, he urgently renewed his suit to be employed, and had the further advance against the Mahdi after the fall of Khar-tûm not been abandoned by the Government, it is understood that definite arrangements had been made for the Prince to accompany this expedition.

He also entertained all the officers at dinner at the Marlborough Club on the eve of their departure. The kit decided on for the last occasion on which the Household Cavalry should fight in colour consisted of red and blue serge jackets, pants and Hessian boots, and pith helmet with puggaree, while goggles, knives, water-bottles, and lanyards were served out.

The First Life Guards' squadron and a portion of the Blues,* leaving barracks at 4 a.m., marched through London and embarked on August 1st at Albert Docks, on board the *Holland*. The Queen specially requested that the vessel might pass through Cowes Roads at 10 a.m. the following morning, so that Her Majesty might have an opportunity of communicating a farewell. The Duke of Cambridge and the Secretary and Under-Secretary of State for War were present at the embarkation, and scenes of great enthusiasm occurred, which were repeated the following day, when the Second Life Guards' squadron, with the remainder of the Blues, embarked on board the *Calabria*. This contingent was favoured by the presence on the outward journey of their Commander-in-Chief in the field. Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had been extremely unwell, was ordered to go by long sea-route, and came quite unobserved on board the *Calabria* half an hour before she sailed, placing himself under the medical care of Surgeon-Major Hume Spry. On August 14th the *Holland* reached Alexandria, then understood to be the base of operations, and the men and horses were consequently landed. Two days later Wolseley arrived on the *Calabria*, when, after an interview with the British Admiral, he at once put into execution his prearranged secret plan to

* The Household Cavalry, always popular in London, were just now the subject of much poetical effusion. One local young lady was inspired to address an ode to the Royal Horse Guards which commenced with the stirring, if somewhat unrhythmical, line: "Rise up, Albany Street."

transfer his base to Ismailia, and thence to make his advance on Cairo without attempting to reduce the forts at Aboukir.

In forwarding on the following day a draft scheme to the Duke of Cambridge Wolseley wrote :—

I have just heard the enemy has broken up his camp at Nifisheh near Ismailia. This may prevent me from having a skirmish with Arabi's people on Monday ; it is very provoking, because I had hoped with the Household Cavalry to have been able to cut him off from his great position near Tel-el-Kebir.

Ismailia was occupied on Sunday, August 20th, and the Household Cavalry, with two guns of the Royal Horse Artillery, some Mounted Infantry, and about 1,000 infantry, was on the 24th pushed forward to Nefisheh, and thence to El Magfar on the Freshwater Canal.* Some sharp skirmishing took place, the enemy throughout the day being largely reinforced from the rear. Wolseley in his despatch wrote :—

I did not think it in consonance with the traditions of the Queen's Army that we should retire before any number of Egyptian troops, so I decided upon holding my ground until the evening, when I knew that reinforcements I had sent for would reach me. I took possession of the dam the enemy had constructed between the villages of Magfar and Mahuta.

During the operation two squadrons of the Household Cavalry charged the enemy's broken infantry very effectively. Sir Garnet Wolseley, in a letter to the Duke of Cambridge from Ismailia, said :—

. . . In going round the wounded the other day, I asked a Life Guardsman, who had a nasty sabre-cut over his right arm, how he came by it. He said in their first charge on the 24th instant he found himself in broken ground separated from his troop, when a man on

* The *Times* correspondent, describing the scene at Ismailia, said the Household Cavalry presented a strange appearance—grimed and semi-bearded. Men and horses absolutely dwarfed other bipeds and quadrupeds into insignificance.

foot shot his horse, and then came up at him with a sword, with which, as he was getting up, the Egyptian cut him over his guard across the arm. "Well," I said, "and what became of your friend?" He replied, without moving a muscle, "I cut him in two, sir." In several instances these great giants with their heavy swords cut men from the head to the waist-belt. . . .

On the 25th the enemy's camp at Mahsamah Railway Station was taken by Drury Lowe with the cavalry and artillery—five Krupp guns, with a large quantity of ammunition and rifles falling into his hands. Wolseley was so much encouraged by the excellent work of the cavalry, notwithstanding some lack of condition on the part of their horses, that he determined to seize at once Kassassin Lock, on the Freshwater Canal, so as to secure a safe passage across the desert between Ismailia and the cultivated land of the Delta.

The casualties in the Household Cavalry on these two days were somewhat heavy, including as they did one trooper (1st Life Guards) killed, three troopers severely wounded, and eight N.C.O.'s and troopers slightly wounded.

Kassassin was duly occupied and placed in charge of General Graham, who had with him the 4th Dragoon Guards, and the York and Lancashire and the Duke of Cornwall's regiments, with some guns; the rest of the cavalry being posted about four miles off at Mahsamah, while, further back, at Tel-el-Mahuta, was the balance of the First Division, including the Brigade of Guards.

CHAPTER LXXIV

ON the morning of August 28th there was a hostile demonstration towards Kassassin, and in the evening Arabi apparently nerved himself to try conclusions with Graham. Animated by the presence of their chief—whom they with equal fatuity believed to be endued both with physical courage and with supernatural gifts—the Egyptians made a bold advance. Graham stood at first on the defensive, sending back word as to the situation to Mahsamah and Tel-el-Mahuta. He opened fire with his guns, but Arabi came on until his men were within range of the British rifles, which checked them very appreciably.

Meanwhile General Drury Lowe, at Mahsamah, who had received a first alarm at dawn, hearing about noon of the enemy's advance on Kassassin, turned out with the Household Cavalry, the 7th Dragoon Guards, and four guns of the Royal Horse Artillery, and advanced towards the enemy's left. On finding that the attack was only a distant artillery fire, he returned to camp at 4.30 p.m. An hour later, however, a heliograph message came from Graham to the effect that the enemy was now advancing in force. Lieutenant Pirie, of the 4th Dragoon Guards, (subsequently transferred to the First Life Guards) was also despatched to confirm the message. He unfortunately conveyed to General Drury Lowe the erroneous and alarmist impression that General Graham was hard pressed, and only just able to hold his own! As a matter of fact, the young galloper found Drury Lowe already

acting upon Graham's very explicit request to take the cavalry round by the right, under cover of the hill, and attack the left flank of the enemy. The Brigade made a wide circuit, the guns—a little late in starting—in rear, and on nearing the enemy were thrown from squadron column into line, and in this formation covered the brow of a rising slope, when they found themselves under fire of artillery and rifles. The order was given to unmask the guns, which was executed by a retirement of troops from both flanks, and a re-formation in two columns on the right of the guns. The gallop was now sounded, and the brilliant attack—known in verse and story as the Moonlight Charge—was launched. Sir Baker Russell was on the right with the 7th Dragoon Guards; his horse was shot under him, and when he managed to secure another he found himself among the Household Cavalry, whose charge—admirably led by Ewart—was driven home in dead earnest. The Egyptian rifle fire quickly emptied a few saddles but had not the slightest effect on the forward rush, and Arabi's men were hurled back by the shock of the heavy horses, and cut down by dint of the heavy blades. Many of the Egyptian foot-men fell on their faces to avoid the slashing of the swords. Some of these got up and fired after the troopers, who thereupon turned about and despatched them. Eleven of the enemy's guns were accounted for, but these unfortunately were neither spiked nor carried away, and were re-taken in the darkness of the night. Drury Lowe in his despatch alluded to Ewart's brilliant leading, and said that the greatest praise was due to all ranks of the Household Cavalry, Wolseley adding on his own account, "their excellent behaviour at all times is on a par with their gallantry in action."

The Household Cavalry had to pay another heavy toll in casualties:—Killed, two troopers 1st Life Guards,

one trooper Royal Horse Guards;* wounded, three troopers severely and two slightly, 1st Life Guards; Major Townshend and one trooper, 2nd Life Guards; and one trooper Royal Horse Guards. Colonel Milne Hume, having lost his bearings, was missing for some time, but eventually found his way back to camp.

On September 1st Lord Wolseley wrote to the Duke of Cambridge that these indecisive yet costly actions were very undesirable, and that he hoped his next move would be a final one. In the course of his letter he made a bold suggestion :—

Believe me, Sir, the more I see of war, the more convinced I am there is nothing like volunteers. These men of the Household Cavalry are teaching me a lesson, and that is that it would pay us well as a nation to obtain men of a better stamp for our Army than those we now enlist, by offering double the pay we now give. This system of paying the soldiers badly gives us the lowest stamp of man for our ordinary Regiments, whilst the Household Cavalry have such good men that crime is unknown amongst them.†

A short respite now ensued, the Household Cavalry sharing in the daily reconnaissance work.

On September 7th, at 3 a.m., Colonel Buller (afterwards General Sir Redvers Buller) rode out with General Wilkinson, two subalterns,‡ and a small escort of Indian cavalry, and arrived within a mile of the enemy's works. Of these he was able to make a hurried sketch, which proved of the utmost value in the scheme for the final attack.

On September 9th Arabi made what he knew must be his last attempt to "rush" Kassassin before the whole

* Trooper Bennet was found lying with his hands and feet partly crossed, as if asleep.

† With this may be compared the speech delivered in the House of Commons in 1871, by Captain the Hon. R. Talbot. See CHAPTER LXXI.

‡ Lieut. Carnac, Bengal Cavalry, and Lieut. Sir G. Arthur, Second Life Guards.

British force should arrive. The attack, faulty in design, was carried forward with more determination than usual, the Commander-in-Chief in his despatch, describing it as a "reconnaissance in force." An artillery duel on the railway line, and some shells plumped into the British camp, were among the items of the morning's programme, which began at 7 a.m. General Willis, in command of the British troops, sallied out, and had no great difficulty in driving back the enemy, who with some considerable loss—including two guns—retired within their intrenchments about noon, just as Sir Garnet arrived on the scene and decided not to push the English advance any further. The Household Cavalry, operating on the right of the line, did excellent service in guarding the line from a flank attack threatened from Salanieh.

At dawn on the 12th Lord Wolseley rode out with the generals, and explained to them his matured scheme. Everything was now ready for the advance on Tel-el-Kebir. That night the total British force at Kassassin was composed of 634 officers, and 16,767 non-commissioned officers and men, with sixty-one guns and six machine guns. Arabi was holding what Wolseley himself described as "a very extensive and very strongly fortified position," with at least 20,000—more probably 30,000—well-armed regular troops, of which the best were the Sudanese, and seventy guns. In order to save loss of men, Wolseley determined to march the eight miles that lay between him and Tel-el-Kebir by night, and to attack the enemy before daybreak. Accordingly, as soon as it was dark, the troops struck camp, the various units, which numbered 11,000 bayonets and 2,000 sabres, taking up the positions which they were to occupy during the march. The Second (Hamley's) Division, on the left, was made up of the Highland Brigade in front, with a composite infantry brigade in rear. To the right, at an interval of 1,200 yards, was the First

Division, Graham's Brigade leading, supported at a distance of 1,000 yards by the Guards under the Duke of Connaught. On the extreme right were the two cavalry brigades and two batteries of horse artillery. At the other end of the line was the Naval Brigade, supported by the 19th Hussars. By 11 o'clock all was ready, and the troops lay down, just as they were, until 1.30 a.m. on September 13th. Then they arose and in absolute silence began the advance. The operation was by no means easy, and its success testifies to the intelligence, alertness, and discipline of the men. The march was guided by observations of the stars taken by a naval officer. When the attack was delivered at 5 o'clock, the enemy was taken completely by surprise. While the infantry went straight for the entrenchments in front, the cavalry swept round the enemy's line, completely turning his left flank. After half an hour's severe fighting both the fortified position and the camp of the enemy were in the hands of the British, together with forty guns, the fugitives throwing away their arms as the Indian cavalry pursued them towards Zagazig for three hours. The Household Cavalry, without stopping, made a forced march to the lock at Belbeis, which was reached the same evening. Next day, September 14th, Cairo was occupied, and Arabi captured. The brilliant little campaign was over.

By special order of the Duke of Cambridge the Household Cavalry were among the first to be brought home. The Duke wrote :—

Their reception will, I think, be very enthusiastic and cordial from all classes. I quite agree with you as to your views regarding these splendid fellows. I wish we had more of them. (*Verner's Life of the Duke of Cambridge*, ii. 252.)

The Commander-in-Chief's anticipation was fully justified. The Second Life Guards and Royal Horse Guards arrived at Southampton on the *Lydian Monarch* in the

early morning of October 20th, the former entraining for Windsor, where they were enthusiastically welcomed by the municipal authorities and the townspeople, and most graciously congratulated by their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, who travelled to Windsor for the purpose of visiting the Regiment in barracks. Next morning, being Sunday, a solemn thanksgiving service for the safe return of the Second Life Guards was held at the Church of the Holy Trinity. The Blues had a tremendous reception in London, where they arrived shortly after noon, and marched through cheering multitudes to the Regents Park Barracks. Here they were received on their arrival by the Prince and Princess of Wales, by Colonel Burnaby, in command of the Regiment, and a host of friends. Their neighbours of Albany Street entertained them at a banquet at Holborn Town Hall on October 25th. The First Life Guards, who came home in the *Assyrian Monarch*, and landed a few hours after their comrades of the other Household Regiments, postponed their entry into London till Sunday, October 21st, when they marched to Knightsbridge Barracks early in the afternoon, and were received everywhere on the route with striking and stirring demonstrations of welcome. Again the Prince and Princess of Wales were among the first to offer a cordial greeting to the Queen's soldiers returned from the war, visiting the Knightsbridge Barracks immediately after the arrival of the service squadron.

Colonel Ewart, Second Life Guards, was summoned to Balmoral, where he was received by the Queen on October 27th. Her Majesty at dinner the same evening proposed his health and that of the gallant Household Regiment which he had commanded. In the following month the Queen came to London, and on November 18th held a review in St. James's Park of all the troops which had returned from Egypt.

CHAPTER LXXV

AT a period even earlier than that of the Egyptian Expedition of 1882 trouble was brewing in the Sudan, largely owing to the machinations of Mahomet Ahmed, who declared himself to be, and was widely accepted as, the expected Mahdi of Moslem belief. He quickly attached to himself ever-increasing numbers of fanatical followers, and, after a series of petty successes, defeated and annihilated in October, 1883, an Egyptian army under Hicks Pasha.

As the Khédive was quite unable to master the revolted Sudanese province unaided, and as the British Government jibbed at the offer of any active assistance in this direction, it was decided to withdraw the Egyptian garrisons and to abandon the country to the Sudanese.

General Gordon was sent to Khartûm early in 1884 to plan and to carry out the arrangements necessary to give effect to this decision. Meanwhile the trouble increased, the seaport of Suakim was threatened, and that brilliant cavalry officer, Valentine Baker Pasha, who had taken service with the Khédive, was the protagonist of another tragedy; for, while proceeding from the coast to Trinkitat with 4,000 men, to attempt the relief of Tokar, he was surrounded by Mahdists and his force cut to ribbons.

The Government at home was spurred by an aroused public opinion into sending a British expedition, under General Graham, to protect Suakim and relieve Tokar. Two successful though bloody actions were fought at El Teb and Tamai, and the redoubtable Osman Digna



*F. M. Viscount Wolseley.
From a portrait by Emil Tucko.*



having been dealt a heavy blow, the expedition was withdrawn.

Gordon's position at Khartûm was now one of the utmost danger; every day rendered his isolation more complete, and increased the difficulty of effecting his rescue.

It was finally decided to send an expedition for the relief of General Gordon and to entrust the command to Lord Wolseley, whose views as to the feasibility of the advance by the Nile had prevailed over General Stephenson's* opinion in favour of the Suakim-Berber route. On his way out to Egypt he wrote to ask that two officers and forty picked N.C.O.'s and men from every cavalry regiment should be combined to form a Heavy and a Light Camel Corps, and that a Guards' Camel Corps should be formed on the same principle from the Brigade of Foot Guards. A fourth Camel Corps was formed in Egypt from the Mounted Infantry, consisting of the Sussex and part of the Essex Regiments. These four Corps were afterwards called Camel Regiments. Lord Wolseley also asked for a considerable number of selected officers to be employed on Special Service. The request was couched in such urgent terms that it was impossible to refuse it, although the authorities stated that it took their breath away! The Commander-in-Chief suggested as an alternative the conversion of a battalion of Rifles and a regiment of Hussars into Camel Corps, but this proposal was found unsuitable if quality as well as quantity were to be considered. The more the question was studied the more clearly it was realised that Wolseley's demand for picked men was the only practicable suggestion under the special conditions which this extraordinary expedition involved.

* General Stephenson was in command of the troops in Egypt.

Lord Wolseley further asked permission to name many of the regimental as well as staff officers whom he wished to be employed—a point which was yielded, though the innovation was warmly deprecated by eminent military personages. Colonel the Hon. R. Talbot, First Life Guards, was appointed to command the Heavy Camel Regiment, and the officers accompanying the Household Cavalry contingent were Major the Hon. C. Byng and Lieutenant Lord Rodney, First Life Guards; Major Lord Cochrane and Lieutenant Beech, Second Life Guards; and Major Lord A. Somerset and Lieutenant Lord Binning, Royal Horse Guards. Each detachment consisted of 1 corporal-major, 2 corporals of horse, 2 corporals, 1 trumpeter, and 38 troopers. As many as 8 officers of the Household Cavalry were employed on Special Service—including Colonel Burnaby, Captain Brocklehurst, Lieutenants Peel, Pirie, Sir John Willoughby, Sir George Arthur and Leigh, and Surgeon-Major Melladew. The Heavy Camel Regiment assembled at Aldershot and was there inspected by the Duke of Cambridge on September 24th, embarking two days later on board the *Deccan*.

On arrival at Cairo it encamped at the Pyramids, and proceeded by train to Assiut, and by barge and steamer to Assuan, where the camels were taken over and the Heavy Camel Regiment became a reality. The march to Wady Halfa and Dongola was begun on November 6th, and Korti, the advanced post on the Nile, was reached on December 23rd, the Guards Camel Regiment Corps having arrived there a week earlier.*

Lord Wolseley's firm belief in the practicability of navigating the Nile in whaler boats had been entirely justified, but, in spite of almost superhuman efforts, the

* During this march Trooper Clements, R.H.G., was accidentally drowned at Sohag.

progress of the flotillas laden with infantry and stores was necessarily slow, and it had become evident that, if Gordon were to be relieved, a dash by the mounted troops across the desert from Korti to Shendy must be undertaken.

To Sir Herbert Stewart, in whose skill and daring Lord Wolseley had unbounded confidence, the leadership of this flying column was entrusted. He started on December 30th, 1884—the day before Gordon's last message "All right!" came into camp. His force, which included some of the "Heavies" and "Lights" acting as transport, and the Guards, reached Jakdul Wells on January 2nd, 1885. Leaving Jakdul the same day in charge of the Guards, he returned to Korti, having marched 200 miles in six days. Here he put himself at the head of his main force, which included the Heavy Camel Regiment, half a battery of the Royal Horse Artillery, two squadrons of the 19th Hussars, the Mounted Infantry, the Sussex Regiment and part of the Essex, and the Naval Brigade. With these he finally left Korti on the 8th. The column marched in light order; no tents or baggage were taken, and water was carried on the camels with an allowance of three pints per man per diem.

Stewart was back again at Jakdul on the 12th, where he picked up the Guards, and leaving part of the Sussex to garrison the Wells, he advanced on Metemmeh on the 14th. Early on the morning of the 16th a party of the 19th Hussars, under the present General Sir John French, on whom all the scouting duties devolved, got into touch with the enemy, and at noon Stewart was informed that the Arabs were located in force between his column and the wells of Abu Klea. The march, however, was continued into the narrow valley leading to the Wells, a halt being called in the late afternoon, when a zariba was constructed for the bivouac. The

enemy was on the move all night, beating tom-toms and keeping up a fairly brisk but comparatively harmless fire. At dawn on the 17th the British force stood to arms. All camels, except those carrying ammunition, were left behind in the zariba; the troops proceeding on foot, and the Naval Brigade dragging their brace of mountain-guns.

The zariba being left, a square was formed of which the accompanying plate gives a diagram.*

As the men rose from the slight hollow in which they had bivouacked, a heavy fire was opened on them, directed chiefly on the right flank, where several casualties occurred. After moving a short distance the guns were dismounted from the camels and played against groups of Arabs on the high ground to the right and right rear. It was at this early period that Lord St. Vincent, the adjutant to the Heavy Camel Regiment, received his fatal wound, and Lieutenant Beech† was also hit. Skirmishers were sent out from the Heavy Camel Regiment, and succeeded in silencing the fire directed on the rear flank.

After a very slow progress of about two miles the enemy's flags, which had for some time been in sight, suddenly became animated. A large body of Arabs sprang up about 700 yards off, and advanced as if to attack the left leading corner of the square. The square was moved on to a slight knoll, a movement which caused the exclusion of many of the camels. The Gardner machine-gun, from which wonders were expected, was brought through a gap on the left face, but after firing a few rounds it got jammed and became useless.

From the wady on the left a dense mass of Arabs,

* For the diagram I am indebted to an article contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* of January, 1886, by Colonel the Hon. Reginald Talbot, C.B.

† In the spring Lieutenant Longfield came out to replace him.

hitherto concealed by the scrub, were now seen advancing upon the left face of the square. The Heavy Camel Regiment's skirmishers, who were still out, exchanged shots with the enemy's sharpshooters; they did not perceive the impending attack on the square, and had to make a desperate rush to get back into it. The last but one to get inside was Major Byng; the last man was overtaken and speared.

On the heels of our skirmishers came a large body of fiercely fanatical dervishes, for the most part armed with spears, though a portion of them carried Remington rifles. They were led by their chiefs on horseback. Undeterred by the firing, they hurled themselves at a momentarily vulnerable point of the square. The men of the Fourth and Fifth Dragoon Guards had a few moments before been wheeled outwards by Colonel Burnaby, probably in order to render their firing more effective. The instant he saw the assault on the rear of the square, Burnaby dashed out in front of them, ordering them to wheel back. Before they could do this, some of the leading Arabs rushed in through the gap made at the left rear corner. In the desperate hand-to-hand fight which now followed Burnaby was the first to fall, receiving as he lay on the ground a mortal wound in the neck. Corporal Mackintosh, of the Blues, rushed out of the square to try to save his commanding officer, and paid for his gallantry with his life—an act for which, had he lived, the V.C. would surely have been his reward.

At this moment a squadron of Baggara tribesmen mounted on black horses charged the right rear angle of the square, where the Household Cavalry were posted. They were met with deadly volleys from the Life Guards, Blues, and Bays, and apparently not one escaped.

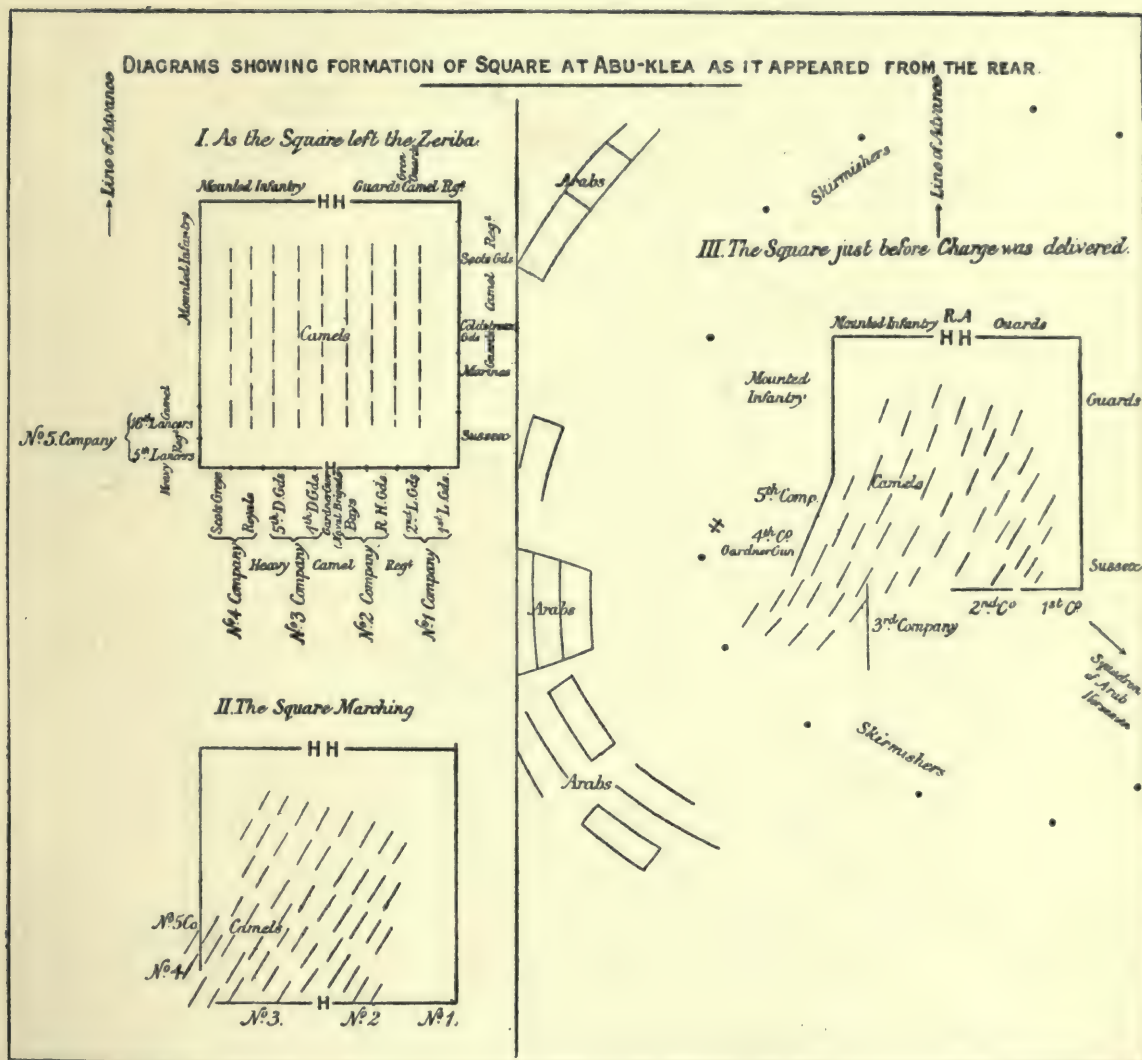
It was remarked afterwards that not a single Arab

penetrated the ranks of the Guards, Mounted Infantry, or Household Cavalry, or those of the Bays, who were their immediate neighbours. It is of course true that their portion of the square did not sustain the full fury of the main attack, but an authoritative tribute has been paid to their steadiness and to the deadly accuracy of their fire.

For five minutes the fight raged at fever heat; the din of battle inside the square was such that no word of command could be heard, and every man had to act on his own impulse. As soon as the inside of the square had been cleared, and the last Arab who penetrated the formation had been despatched, the outside assailants, who had been heavily punished by gun and rifle fire, slowly drew off, with abortive demonstrations of a desire to renew the fight. When the column reached the Abu Klea wells, it was to find that they yielded only a limited supply of very turgid water.

Stewart's force—described afterwards by Moltke as “a band, not of soldiers, but of heroes”—had by sheer pluck and muscle beaten off a fanatical attack against overwhelming numerical odds; but in a few short minutes the tale of casualties mounted to 74 killed—of whom 9 were officers—and 94 wounded. Of the enemy, whose strength is estimated on the best authority at not less than 16,000 men, 1,100 dead were counted close to the square.*

* Slatin Pasha informed Colonel Talbot that, while a prisoner at Khartûm, he had ascertained from the dervish leaders and from returns showing the tribes and the numbers engaged at Abu Klea, that they consisted of the best fighting men the Mahdi had; that they were despatched direct from Khartûm when he heard of the march of the British force across the Bayuda desert; and that not less than 16,000 men took part in the fight.



THE SQUARE AT ABU-KLEA.

(By kind permission of the "Nineteenth Century Review.")

CHAPTER LXXVI

THE early part of the next day, January 18th, 1885, was spent in building a small fort for the wounded, who were to be left in care of the Sussex Regiment. Stewart the same afternoon determined to push on to the Nile. A little after 4 p.m. the column set off to strike the river three or four miles above Metemmeh. Every imaginable difficulty attended the night march. The camels were exhausted, as well as ravenous with hunger, the drivers fell asleep and lost control over them, the soldiers—most of whom had had no sleep for two nights—were dead beat, and in the darkness the greatest confusion often prevailed.

Eighteen miles had been traversed when, very early in the morning of the 19th, the line of the Nile was sighted about six miles distant, but its welcome appearance was discounted by observing that the enemy had posted themselves in the interval.* Stewart quickly recognised that it would be impossible to reach the river without another fight. The camels were collected together and a zariba of brushwood, saddles, and boxes formed, whilst the men indulged in a short rest and a scanty breakfast. The enemy kept creeping closer and closer, and maintained a hot fire from the long grass in which they crouched, and which diminished the effect of the return fire. One of the first to be struck was the gallant Stewart himself. His wound, which unhappily proved mortal, necessitated the command

* This force consisted of dervishes who came from Metemmeh and Shendy, and who were not of the same tribes as those who had fought two days before at Abu Klea.

being vested in Sir Charles Wilson, who decided, after consultation with Stewart, to put the zariba in a condition to resist any sudden rush, to leave his baggage within it, and to form a square and fight his way down to the river. These preparations took some time, and many casualties occurred before the square marched off at three o'clock. The start was a signal for increased activity on the part of the enemy, and officers and men dropped quickly ; but to the general satisfaction it was soon perceived that another Arab charge was about to be launched. With a downhill course in their favour, the Arabs charged with even greater impetus than two days before, but on this occasion they had not the luck to find the square masked by skirmishers, and the steady fire which was poured into them mowed down their front ranks to a man. Only one Arab got within 100 yards of the square, and although the horsemen followed the onslaught of the spearmen, they too kept at a respectful distance, and in less than five minutes from the inception of the charge a ringing British cheer marked the flight of the enemy at top speed and in all directions. The way to the Nile was now opened, and half an hour after dark a bivouac on its bank was established, Sir Charles Wilson having gone on ahead to select a suitable spot close to the village of Abu Kru. The casualties in the British force on this day amounted to 1 officer and 22 N.C.O.'s and men killed, with 8 officers and 90 N.C.O.'s and men wounded.

The following morning a portion of the force moved back to the zariba, making a *détour* towards Metemmeh and occupying the village of Gubat, where the wounded were left with a guard of the Heavies and the Sussex Regiment, in command of Lord Arthur Somerset. The march to the zariba and back to the river the same afternoon was but slightly interfered with by roving sharpshooters, who inflicted no injury.

On the 21st a demonstration was made against Metemmeh. While the attack was proceeding, four steamers sent by Gordon from Metemmeh on December 14th landed some native troops, who brought news of Arab reinforcements being on their march from Khartûm. Strict economy in ammunition being considered necessary, the attack was suspended, and after destroying three villages Wilson retired to his position at Gubat.

Colonel Wilson started by river on January 24th for Khartûm with 200 soldiers, Gordon having insisted that the sight of British red coats would have a great moral effect.* When on the 28th he arrived outside Khartûm, it was to receive the tragic intelligence that the place had been captured by the Mahdi two days before, and that Gordon himself had been killed. There was nothing to be done but to put about and return down stream. Wilson's passage to Gubat was hotly opposed; he himself was wrecked, and the whole party was rescued with great difficulty by a little expedition from Gubat hurriedly organised and ably commanded by Lord Charles Beresford. On the morning of February 4th Wilson rejoined the camp at Gubat, and two days later left for Korti with a small escort.

Meanwhile early on January 23rd a convoy of 1,000 baggage camels escorted by 300 men left Gubat for Gakdul

* "Twenty men of the Royal Sussex Regiment came up to Khartûm with us on the two steamers. Their red tunics had been sent up specially for them to wear on arrival at Khartûm, in order that the Khalifa's men should realise that British troops had arrived. They did not wear their red tunics on the way up the river from Metemmeh, and—as far as I recollect—the tunics went to the bottom of the Nile when the steamers were wrecked coming down from Khartûm. In one of Gordon's last letters or telegrams, before he was completely cut off, he used the words, 'a handful of British troops dressed in red coats are all that are necessary.' But that was many months before we arrived."—(Letter from Brig.-Gen. the Hon. E. Stuart Wortley, January 19th, 1909.)

under command of Colonel Talbot, with Lord Cochrane acting as guide. Marching as much as possible at night, to avoid any attention on the part of the enemy, the convoy reached Gakdul on the 26th loaded up with stores and ammunition, and arrived again at Gubat on the 31st after a slight brush with the enemy.

At 3 a.m. the next morning Lieutenant Stuart Wortley arrived in a rowing-boat from the wreck of Sir Charles Wilson's steamer, with the terrible news of Gordon's death. That evening at nine o'clock a convoy composed as before and with all available camels again left for Jakdul, under instructions to pick up at Abu Klea as many of the sick and wounded—in all 189 men—as were fit to travel. Lord Cochrane once more acted as guide, and himself pushed on to Korti with a despatch carrying the news of the fall of Khartûm and the death of its hero.

On February 8th the return convoy left Jakdul for the river, and with it marched on foot the 18th Royal Irish. Also accompanying it were Sir Redvers Buller and Major Kitchener, the former of whom had been ordered by Lord Wolseley to assume command of the force at Gubat, his duties as Chief-of-the-Staff being temporarily taken over by Sir Evelyn Wood. On his arrival at the front on the 11th Buller carefully reviewed the situation, and came to the conclusion that the immediate evacuation of Gubat, and the retreat of the force—which was entirely “in the air”—was imperatively necessary in view of the advance of a very large body of the Mahdi's men, now available through the fall of Khartûm.

On the night of February 13th all stores which could not be carried away, a large quantity of camels' saddles,

and other equipment, were thrown into the river. With the first streak of dawn on the 14th the force, 1,700 strong, marched out of Gubat. All officers and men, with the exception of the 19th Hussars, were on foot. One emaciated camel was allotted to every four men to carry saddle-bags and blankets. The force was followed by a small body of Arab cavalry, who did not attempt any offensive movement—much to the chagrin of the troops, as a final set-to was eagerly hoped for.

Buller, on the morning of the 13th, had sent off all the sick and wounded, inclusive of Sir Herbert Stewart, again in charge of Talbot. Those who were able to limp were on foot, those totally unable to walk were carried on stretchers by Egyptian soldiers. The convoy was attacked about eight miles from the river by a force which extended itself round three sides, and kept up a fairly well-directed fire for about an hour and a half. A party advancing on the convoy's left flank was mistaken for the enemy, and received with a vigorous volley—fortunately not a well-directed one, as the body turned out to be the Light Camel regiment coming up from Jakdul. This reinforcement decided the enemy to retire after firing a final round, the convoy having sustained casualties of two killed and six wounded.

The convoy reached Abu Klea early the following morning, February 14th, without further interference.* The column arrived there on the 16th. Buller had intended to make a general halt at Abu Klea, but the water-supply proved to be quite insufficient for so large a force, camel forage was entirely lacking, and the transport was near vanishing-point. He therefore decided to send forward the rest of the Heavies, with the Guards and 19th Hussars and the mob of Sudanese fugitives, who were

* Sir Herbert Stewart died in the desert on February 16th, and was carried into Jakdul and buried in a ravine on the 17th.

the difficult charge of Major Gascoigne, late Royal Horse Guards. Buller, with the remainder of his force, stood fast at Abu Klea, harassed daily by the enemy, till the 23rd, when he received instructions to return to Korti. It had been decided to recall the river column—which under great difficulties and amid considerable opposition was laboriously making for Merawi—and to abandon any further forward movements until the autumn.

Buller's quiet evacuation of his fortified camp, embarrassed as his men were by the attentions of daily increasing hordes of the enemy, was on a par with every other detail of his masterly retreat across the Bayuda desert.

Talbot with his convoy left Jakdul on the 23rd* and halted for some days at Megaga Wells, where he was joined by the rest of his corps, who busied themselves with such comparatively light work as building "pepper-box" forts and improving access to the wells.

On March 7th the Heavy Camel Regiment, very fit but rather footsore, was back at Korti. Its strength on leaving Korti on January 7th had been 411 of all ranks. Now, two months later, the total was 296—a shrinkage of 115. An inscription on the walls of the Temple of Philae, since submerged, records the losses of the Heavy Camel Regiment during the operations of 1884-5.† On March 10th the Regiment began to float down-stream to Hafir, where it was ordered to encamp until the autumn weather should be propitious for Lord Wolseley to set his troops in motion again to recapture Khartûm, "smash the Mahdi," and avenge Gordon. But soldiers propose and politicians dispose, and thirteen long years were to elapse before the

* A sad accident occurred just before the force quitted Jakdul. Trooper Grant of the Blues fell into the upper well and was drowned.

† For a transcript of this record, which was inscribed by direction of General Talbot, the Colonel commanding the Regiment, see APPENDIX.

capture, the "smashing," and the vengeance were effected by the grim perseverance and brilliant *coups de main* of Lord Kitchener.* Early in May the evacuation of the Soudan by British troops was decided on, and on June 2nd the Heavy Camel Regiment, whose monotonous life at Hafir was rudely interrupted by a destructive camp fire, began its homeward movement. The Heavy and Guards' Camel Regiments embarked at Alexandria on July 3rd, and on arrival in Cowes Roads on the 14th received the notification that the Queen herself would inspect them that morning in the grounds of Osborne House. At noon, accordingly, the two Corps were drawn up on the lawn, the Queen alighted from her carriage, and paid her rather ragged soldiers the signal honour of walking down their lines, subsequently addressing them in terms of gracious welcome and gratitude, and causing all the officers to be presented to her.

A scene of enthusiasm was further in store for the Heavies and the Guards on the following day, when they marched from Waterloo Station to Wellington Barracks, where, amidst a concourse of kindly friends, the Duke of Cambridge spoke a few soldierly words of congratulation on their work, and of deep regret that their losses—which included the sad death of a trooper in the 1st Life Guards on board the transport that very morning—had been so serious.

On Saturday, the 20th, the Household Cavalry contingent of the Heavy Camel Regiment was welcomed and inspected by the Prince of Wales at Regent's Park Barracks. Officers and men were subsequently entertained to luncheon and regaled with an exhibition of

* At the fall of Khartûm in September, 1898, several Household Cavalry officers were present, attached to the Egyptian army or to the 21st Lancers. Major Brinton, Second Life Guards, was severely wounded.

haute école riding by the octogenarian, Mr. Mackenzie Grieves, formerly an officer of the Royal Horse Guards.

A few months later the detachment of the Second Life Guards, being stationed at Windsor, enjoyed the supreme distinction of having their medals affixed to their breasts by the hands of their beloved Sovereign herself.

APPENDIX

THE Philae inscription is here reproduced :—



IN MEMORY OF
10 OFFICERS & 92 NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS & MEN
OF THE
HEAVY CAMEL REGIMENT
WHO LOST THEIR LIVES IN THE
SOUDAN 1884-5

		KILLED IN ACTION OR DIED OF WOUNDS	DIED OF DISEASE
1ST LIFE GUARDS	N.C.O. & MEN	2	2
2ND LIFE GUARDS	N.C.O. & MEN	2	4
ROYAL HORSE GUARDS			
	N.C.O. & MEN	1	4
2ND DRAGOON GUARDS			
	N.C.O. & MEN	6	2
4TH DRAGOON GUARDS			
		CAPT. DARLEY	
		LT. LAW	
	N.C.O. & MEN	8	1
5TH DRAGOON GUARDS			
	N.C.O. & MEN	10	1
ROYAL DRAGOONS			
		MAJOR GOUGH	MAJOR TIDESWELL
	N.C.O. & MEN	13	3
SCOTS GREYS			
		LT. WOLFE	
	N.C.O. & MEN	12	4
5TH LANCERS			
		MAJOR CARMICHAEL	LT. COSTELLO
	N.C.O. & MEN	7	3
16TH LANCERS			
		CAPT. & ADJT.	LT. BROWN
		VISCT. ST. VINCENT	
	N.C.O. & MEN	4	3

TOTAL 10 OFFICERS, 92 N.C.O. & MEN.

CHAPTER LXXVII

THE long-smouldering hostility of the two Boer Republics in South Africa towards the Suzerain Power burst out into a flame in the autumn of 1899, President Krüger on October 11th declaring war against the British Empire. Troops were at once sent to South Africa, not only from England, but also from India : Canada, Australia, and the Colonies, moreover, taking part in the defence of the Empire. It was decided that recent precedents should be followed as to the inclusion of the Life Guards and Royal Horse Guards among the troops to be sent to the front. On October 29th orders were received that a full squadron should be furnished from each regiment of the Household Cavalry, to form part of a composite Household Cavalry Regiment for service in South Africa. The strength of each squadron, besides officers, consisted of 2 corporal-majors, 10 corporals of horse, 1 farrier, 8 corporals, 3 corporal shoeing-smiths, 158 troopers, and 2 trumpeters.

The officers appointed to the Regiment were:—*

Colonel Audley Neeld, Second Life Guards (in Command).

Colonel Calley, First Life Guards (Second in Command).

* Drafts afterwards came out with Lt. Colonel Miles, Captains Lord Sudley, FitzGerald and Mann-Thomson, and Lieutenants Sir George Prescott, Sir John Campbell, Rose, Brassey and Adrian Rose.

FIRST LIFE GUARDS :—

Major Carter
Captain Milner
Prince Adolphus of Teck (in charge of Transport)
Captain Clowes
Lieutenant Lloyd Phillips
Lieutenant Henderson
Lieutenant Waring
Lieutenant the Honourable G. Ward

SECOND LIFE GUARDS :—

Major Anstruther Thomson
Captain Peel *
Captain Ferguson
Captain Ellison (Adjutant)
Lieutenant de Crespigny
Lieutenant Surtees
Lieutenant Spender Clay
Lieutenant the Honourable A. O'Neill
Lieutenant the Earl of Wicklow
Captain Fawsett, R.A.M.C. (Medical Officer)

ROYAL HORSE GUARDS :—

Major Fenwick
Captain Vaughan-Lee
Captain Ricardo
Lieutenant the Honourable R. Ward
Lieutenant the Honourable A. Meade
Lieutenant the Honourable D. Marjoribanks
Lieutenant the Duke of Roxburghe
Captain Drage (Veterinary)
Lieutenant and Quartermaster Stubbs.

A number of other Household Cavalry officers were employed. Lieutenants Carden, Lord Kensington, and the Honourable M. Bowes-Lyon were attached to the 12th

* Captain Peel, one of the most popular officers in the Household Cavalry, died of enteric fever at Bloemfontein on April 16th, 1900.

Lancers and 10th Hussars. On the Staff and on Special Service were Colonel Brocklehurst; Majors the Honourable C. Bingham and W. Anstruther-Thomson; Captains the Honourable A. Stanley, H. C. Fraser, Walker, H. Grenfell,* Hamilton Stubber, the Earl of Longford, Brinton, Wilson and Villiers; Lieutenants Cookson, Gordon, Cavendish, the Honourable F. Guest, Trotter, the Marquess of Tullibardine,† the Honourable R. Molyneux and Viscount Crichton; and Captain Hall (Riding Master).‡

The Regiment was inspected at Regent's Park Barracks by the Prince of Wales on November 10th, and on the following day Queen Victoria, who had travelled overnight from the Highlands, drove to the Cavalry Barracks at Windsor to bid good-bye to the Household Cavalry Regiment. The Queen having inspected the line, mass was formed, and Her Majesty said to the soldiers of her bodyguard:—

I have asked you, who have always served near me, to come here, that I may take leave of you before you start on your long voyage to a distant part of my Empire, in whose defence your comrades are now so nobly fighting. I know that you will always do your duty to your Sovereign and Country wherever duty may lead you, and I pray God to protect you and bring you safely home.

On November 29th the Regiment proceeded by special train to Southampton, part of it embarking on board the *Maplemore*, with Lieutenant-Colonel Neeld, Second Life Guards, in command. The ship sailed at 4 p.m. the same day. It was December 5th before the remainder of the Regiment sailed on board the *Pinemore*, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel T. C. P. Calley, First Life Guards.

The transports arrived at Table Bay on Christmas Eve and December 29th respectively. At Christmas the

* Commanding Brabant's Horse.

† Commanding 1st and 2nd Scottish Horse.

‡ The Government accepted the services of a very large number of ex-Household Cavalry officers, inclusive of the Earl of Dundonald, of Ladysmith fame; Lord Lovat, who raised and commanded Lovat's Scouts; and the Earl of Erroll, who commanded a brigade.

Queen telegraphed :—" I wish you all, my brave soldiers, a happy Christmas."

The Household Cavalry Regiment on landing proceeded to Maitland Camp. The Queen, on New Year's Day, telegraphed again :—" I wish you all a happy New Year. God protect you !"

On January 3rd,* being ordered to join General French at Rensburg—in the central field of operations near Colesberg, where French had been operating since November—the Regiment left the same evening in four trains, detraining at Arundel on the 6th, and marching thence eight miles to Rensburg. During the rest of the month the Household Cavalry Regiment had a full share of the fighting, as will be seen from the following diary kept by an officer of the First Life Guards :—

January 7th.—In a reconnaissance made by the Royal Horse Guards squadron an officer and four men were taken prisoners.

9th.—The 1st and 2nd Life Guards' squadrons, with the Carabineers, New Zealand Mounted Rifles, and New South Wales Lancers, marched to Slingsfontein, about twelve miles, and took up a position on the Boers' left flank.

10th.—A reconnaissance made by the 1st Life Guards' squadron and a squadron of Carabineers, with two guns, under Lieutenant-Colonel Calley, found the Boers in a strong position covering the east of Colesberg.

11th.—In a reconnaissance in force made under Colonel Porter, the Carabineers' and 1st Life Guards' squadrons occupied a kopje, and were nearly surrounded before receiving orders to retire. Major Carter, however, made good his retreat without loss. A heavy swarm of locusts, coming up at a critical moment straight in the Boers' faces, undoubtedly prevented many casualties, the fire being very heavy. Lieutenants the Honourable G. Ward and Lloyd Phillips rode back with great gallantry to bring out men who were unhorsed.

13th.—The Boers shelled the camp about 1.30 p.m., the whole force immediately turning out and driving off the enemy without any loss.

18th.—The Household Cavalry Regiment moved east to Potfontein—about 7 miles.

19th.—On a reconnaissance being made towards Achterstang station,

* See APPENDIX

the Boers were found in great force. The 1st Life Guards' squadron returned to Slingsfontein, that of the 2nd Life Guards being detached under Colonel Remington at Kleinfontein.

25th.—Another reconnaissance in force; the Boers being found in great strength with a long-range gun.

February 1st.—The Household Cavalry Regiment re-assembled at Rensburg.*

The long ten weeks' drama enacted round Colesberg, though lacking the sensational results beloved of "the gallery," was based on a very definite plot. General French by his masterly tactics had kept a large Boer force at bay, had held them back from a raid southwards, and had from his central position done much even to decide the whole future of the war.

In his despatch of February 2nd, referring to the events of the previous month, the General made special mention of Major Carter, First Life Guards, for "skill and resolution in leading," and of Lieutenant C. C. De Crespigny, Second Life Guards, for "great gallantry in bringing wounded men out of action."

On January 29th General French had been summoned by Lord Roberts to Capetown, and was by him entrusted with the responsible task of the relief of Kimberley. The Regiment, still included in French's command, formed part of the cavalry force ordered to Modder River, at which village Lord Methuen, ever since December 11th—the grim and gloomy day of Magersfontein—had, except for two successful raids, remained quiescent in camp. This pause lasted for three months, pending first the arrival of Lord Roberts, and next the collection at Modder River camp of the large force with which he intended to advance on Bloemfontein.

Though Bloemfontein was his principal objective, Lord Roberts was bent on the immediate relief of Kimberley by a rapid cavalry movement. As a result of this step his

* See APPENDIX to CHAPTER LXXVIII., p. 713.

own left flank would be protected on the march to Bloemfontein, and his line of communication from menace by Cronje; while the Boers' line of retreat from Magersfontein would be cut. It was essential that the concentration of French's force should be concealed from the enemy. The Boers were to be deceived by the despatch of an expedition under Macdonald, who, with the Highland Brigade, some of the 9th Lancers, and a field battery, was sent a considerable distance west of the camp on February 3rd to seize Koedoesberg Drift. There was some sharp fighting, and three days later it was decided to support Macdonald with cavalry, consisting of the Household Cavalry Regiment, the 2nd Dragoons, a portion of the 6th Dragoons, and the 10th Hussars—the whole forming a brigade under Babington. The enemy having been driven off, Macdonald's entire force rejoined Methuen at Modder River camp on February 8th. The diary says:—

February 2nd.—Entrained for Modder River.

3rd.—Arrived at Modder River.

7th.—The Household Cavalry Regiment, with all available cavalry marched at 11 a.m. about 10 miles west to Koedoesberg, where the Highland Brigade and 9th Lancers were engaged. A sharp engagement, during which the Household Cavalry were ordered to charge, but were stopped by a wire fence.* They then retired under cover of darkness to Koedoesberg Drift and bivouacked.

8th.—Marched out at 4.30 a.m., and were engaged all day. Marched back after sunset to Modder River by the south side of the river, over some 17 miles of rough ground, arriving at midnight.

Lord Roberts, being now ready to commence the advance on Bloemfontein, ordered French to start on his movement for the relief of Kimberley, a town of 40,000 inhabitants, which stood a siege from its investment on October 12th, 1899, till its relief on February 15th, 1900—being held during this time by an efficient

* Two Troopers R.H.G. were wounded at this spot.

volunteer force, stiffened by four battalions of the North Lancashire Regiment.

French's cavalry—the largest mounted British cavalry division that had ever worked together—was distributed as follows:—The 1st Brigade, under Porter, consisted of the Carabineers, the Scots Greys, and part of the Inniskillings; the 2nd Brigade, under Broadwood, included the Household Cavalry Regiment, the 10th Hussars, and the 12th Lancers; and the 3rd Brigade, under Gordon, was made up of the 9th and 16th Lancers, with seven batteries R.H.A., two brigades of mounted infantry, some Royal Engineers, Australians and Rimington's Guides. In this division the cavalry numbered 2,754 of all ranks; the Royal Horse Artillery, 1,321.

The concentration of this force was contrived with great secrecy, a small body, left to face the enemy at Colesberg, being judiciously spread out to look as large as possible.

On the evening of February 9th Lord Roberts, addressing the officers and men, told them that he entrusted to them the relief of Kimberley, adding that he knew they would rejoice at an opportunity of maintaining the British Cavalry's splendid traditions, and that they would use the utmost haste and energy to relieve a town whose situation had become desperate—the besieging Boers, now in possession of another gun, being engaged (so he was informed) in shelling not merely the men of the garrison, but the women and children:—"You must relieve Kimberley, if it cost you half your forces." *

* Lieutenant the Hon. A. Meade's account of the events between February 1st and 9th is included in the APPENDIX to CHAPTER LXXVIII.

APPENDIX

By the kindness of the Earl of Clanwilliam* is here given the first of several extracts from his MS. journal of the War. The opening paragraphs narrate the Household Cavalry Regiment's earliest experiences of actual campaigning in South Africa. By the writer's permission the original narrative has been slightly compressed.

January 3rd, 1900. *Capetown*.—The Regiment had a field-day. Whilst out we received orders to entrain in two hours' time. Orders reached us at 11 a.m. 1st and 2nd squadrons entrained first, the Blues last. The horses and baggage filled five trains.

6th.—Arrived at Arundel, where we detrained. We marched to Rensburg camp, about 12 miles, reaching it at 6 p.m.

7th.—The Blues squadron was detailed as escort for General French, to go as light as possible, with only 45 rounds of ammunition. We paraded at 8 a.m., moving off in an easterly direction, parallel to the Boers' position, for about three hours, the horses being very tired after their long railway journey. I was sent off with a troop to inspect ground for a new camp. At a distance of two miles I found the squadron holding two kopjes, about 150 feet high, with the enemy to their front and north. General French, finding these unoccupied by the Boers, had told Fenwick to "hold them till seriously attacked," and that the camp was to be transferred to that spot. The General and his staff had then returned to Rensburg, 7 miles off. The squadron had now been 3 hours under fire, having started out with only 45 rounds per man. Shortly afterwards the enemy opened on us with the guns. Fenwick then ordered a retirement, the Boers galloping down on our eastern flank. The enemy were firing at us from our

* Lieutenant the Hon. Arthur Meade, R.H.G., promoted Captain February, 1900; served in South African War with the Household Cavalry Regiment and on the Staff; also in the latter stages of the war with the Imperial Yeomanry.

right as well as from behind. I found the remainder of the squadron making a stand by a wire fence, and eventually they stopped the enemy. We returned to camp at 5 p.m., having lost 4 men and 6 horses—two of the latter from exhaustion. It was very lucky that any of us got away at all.

CHAPTER LXXVIII

ON the morning of February 11th, at 3 a.m., a start was made with the great "Cavalry Rush for Kimberley." The course lay through Ramdan across the Riet River at De Kiel and Waterval Drifts and at Klip Drift, Cronje's force being passed on the right. French's celerity of movement took the Boers unawares, and he seized the Drifts without many casualties. On February 15th he found the enemy posted in two strong positions in front, separated from each other by a defile. French instantly decided on one of the boldest cavalry moves on record.

Taking with him the 2nd and 3rd Brigades, and forming them in extended order, he galloped at best speed through the defile to some low hills beyond—the 9th, 16th, and 17th Lancers heading the charge—and from there was able to cover the advance of the rest of the troops. The Boers offered some opposition, which was overcome without serious fighting, and on the same evening Kimberley was reached and its garrison relieved. The diary has the following record:—

February 11th.—The Household Cavalry Regiment, brigaded with the 10th Hussars and 12th Lancers under Brigadier-General Broadwood, marched with the Cavalry division under General French to Ramdan.

12th.—Marched at 2 a.m. over bad ground in pitch darkness. We eventually had to halt till daybreak, then moved on towards De Kiel's Drift, coming into touch with the enemy about 7 a.m., and turning their left flank, while the Mounted Infantry secured the Drift. The Regiment bivouacked on the north bank of the River Riet.

13th.—A long, hot, waterless march of about 20 miles to Klip Drift on the Modder River, no opposition being offered beyond a few "snipers." The Drift and the kopjes beyond, including a Boer camp, were occupied at dusk.

14th.—The 1st Life Guards' squadron occupied a kopje covering the Drift, and were engaged at long range.*

15th.—At 9 a.m. the Naval guns and Infantry came up and took over the position. The Cavalry and Horse Artillery moved out and immediately came under a heavy fire from the Boer guns. General French immediately gave the order to advance. The Division then advanced at a gallop in three lines, the 9th, 16th and 17th † Lancers in the First Line; the Household Cavalry Regiment, 10th Hussars and 12th Lancers in the Second Line—the Household Cavalry on the right; and the Carabineers, Greys and 7th Dragoon Guards in the Third Line. The whole Division galloped about three miles, cutting the enemy's position in two, and forcing them to retire hurriedly. After a short halt, the Division marched on to Alexandersfontein, where a deputation from Kimberley met General French and reported that the siege was raised. The last gun was fired on Kimberley about 2 p.m. in view of the Troops.

No water all day; twenty horses died of exhaustion in the Household Cavalry alone.‡

The General and his Staff, riding ahead of the column, entered the town amid loud and continuous cheering. He had carried out to the letter his promise to Lord Kitchener—"I promise faithfully to relieve Kimberley at 6 on the evening of the 15th, if I am alive."

Next morning, the 16th, at 3.30 a.m., French advanced to the northern outskirts of Kimberley, where the enemy held several positions, and where the 1st Cavalry Brigade (Porter's) had heavy fighting. There was still to be little rest, however, for French's cavalry division. Lord Roberts's first great move against Cronje, the Boer General who had been opposed to Methuen, required the co-operation of French's cavalry. Just after midnight

* The entire Household Cavalry Regiment was thus employed throughout the 14th.

† The inclusion of the 17th Lancers is not mentioned by other authorities.

‡ A description of these events furnished by Lieut. the Hon. A. Meade, R.H.G., is given in the APPENDIX.

THE "CAVALRY RUSH" FOR KIMBERLEY 709

Lord Kitchener sent to say that Cronje, who had on this day been sighted by Kelly-Kenny, attacked, and harassed, had abandoned his position, and to ask French to cut off the Boer General's line of retreat. At 3.30 a.m. on the 17th Broadwood's brigade and the Carabineers, who were comparatively fresh, accompanied by G and P Batteries R.H.A., started from their camp at Alexandersfontein 7 miles distant from Kimberley to perform this important task. Cronje was aware of the relief of Kimberley on the 15th, and of the operations to the north of the town the next day. He believed that French's cavalry were still waiting to intercept him in that direction. Acting on this idea, he would not proceed westwards and northwards, but determined to strike eastwards for Bloemfontein, running the gauntlet of French's force to the north, and of Kelly-Kenny's to the south. But, just when Cronje supposed French was acting to the north of Kimberley, the British cavalry division—reduced by judicious pruning of ineffective horses to a total strength of 1,200—was advancing diagonally south-eastwards for Koedoesrand Drift, the point at which French calculated that Cronje was sure to have fixed upon at which to cross the Modder.

French's supposition proved to be correct, and his calculations were exact. He headed off Cronje at this very point, and this successful *coup* was one of the most brilliant and striking pieces of work carried out during the campaign.

Soon after 10 o'clock on the morning of the 17th the British force, after a 35 miles' march, reached the high block of rough country named the Koedoesrand. It was ascertained that Cronje and all his army—believed to number 6,000 men with several guns—with a waggon train three miles long, was slowly moving eastwards along the north bank of the Modder in blissful unconsciousness

of French's near approach. The sudden appearance of the British was a bolt from the blue.

Precisely at 12.45 p.m. the first shell—fired by P Battery and falling close to Cronje's leading waggon, as it stood with its drivers just ready to descend into the Drift—spread consternation through the Boer commandos.

APPENDIX

THE most conspicuous cavalry exploit of the War was the bold and successful dash made by Sir John French with the Cavalry Division for the relief of Kimberley, followed by the prompt heading-off of Cronje at Paardeberg. On this memorable movement Lieutenant Meade's Journal sheds fresh light. The Cavalry Division was formed at the Modder River camp and placed under General French's command on February 10th. But the story of the Household Cavalry Regiment's part in these stirring events begins a little earlier—with the reunion of its component squadrons at Rensburg on February 1st.

Rensburg, February 1st, 1900.—The First Life Guards rejoined us here at 7.30 a.m. from Slingsfontein. The Second Life Guards came in about 11 o'clock; so we are all together again.

2nd.—The First Life Guards entrained and left Rensburg by 11 a.m. The Blues squadron got away by 2 p.m.

3rd.—Arrived at Orange River station to discover that we were ordered off to Modder River. They have been simply pouring in troops there, and all the Cavalry is assembling at that point. We arrived at 4.45 at Modder River, a huge camp. The country here, after Rensburg, looks perfect for cavalry, and just beyond the hills they say it is flatter still.

4th.—The 2nd Life Guards arrived during the night and detrained at daylight. People can't make out what we are by our badges, and I was asked by two separate people, first, if I belonged to the Naval Brigade, and secondly, if to the 16th Lancers!

8th.—At 10 a.m. orders came to turn out immediately. We were all out by 10.15—*i.e.*, the Household Cavalry Regiment, the 16th Lancers, one squadron of 10th Hussars, one squadron of 12th Lancers, and two batteries of R.H.A.—and then proceeded to relieve Macdonald's brigade of Highlanders and 9th Lancers at Koedoesberg, 20 miles away. Macdonald was in a tight place. We got on to the enemy's

right flank—the Blues in advance. We bolted the enemy from their position, dismounted and fired at from 1,000 to 2,000 yards, bowling over a few. We remounted and advanced, and a hot fire was poured in on our left flank—we losing 3 men out of my troop, 2 slightly and 1 dangerously wounded. The latter, riding next to me, was shot through the arm and chest, the bullet just missing the heart. We retired at dusk across the Modder River and bivouacked at 11 p.m. The Regiment lost 9 men wounded and 11 horses killed.

9th.—Leaving camp at 4.30 a.m. we advanced and found yesterday's position unoccupied; so we had done some good yesterday driving the enemy back. Retiring, we reached camp at Modder River by midnight. A very tiring march and we were all dead beat, having had nothing to eat or drink since 4.30 a.m.

10th.—We have had orders to start at 3 a.m. to-morrow—the whole cavalry division, nine regiments of cavalry. General Lord Roberts came round the lines at 5 p.m. He told the Colonel we were going on a job we should remember to the end of our lives, adding that a message had been received from Kimberley to the effect that the Boers had brought up a 29-pounder gun and killed several of the civil population; that the latter had had enough of the fighting; and that Kimberley would not be able to hold out longer than four days.

11th.—We started at 3 a.m., arriving at Ramdan at 11 a.m.—a distance of 24 miles. There was here collected a splendid mobile force of 4,000 cavalry, 4,000 mounted infantry and 72 guns (7 horse batteries and 5 field batteries); besides one division of infantry. We are making a dash for the relief of Kimberley, and we shall have to go jolly fast to reach it in time. Orders arrived at 8 p.m. to parade to-morrow at 1.40 a.m.

Koffyfontein, Riet River, 12th.—Arrived here to-day at 2 p.m. Leaving camp at 1.50 a.m. we marched for about 4 miles in pitch darkness and over ground full of stones and holes. A halt having been called for daylight the advance was resumed. My troop was again sent out in advance. We saw only a few of the enemy and drove them back. The first shot was fired by the Boers at 5.57 a.m. Our guns came into action at 6.15. The enemy were then driven across the river. The Household Cavalry dismounted and lined some kopjes about 3 miles from the river. The enemy, outflanked, retreated in full flight. We crossed and watered our horses in the Riet—at this point 30 yards wide and quite fordable. The Boer losses were 64 and two prisoners; also a German officer. Having waited here till 5 p.m. we received orders to bivouac.

Klip Drift, Modder River, 13th.—The cavalry, mounted infantry and guns began at 9 a.m. to advance straight upon this place. The enemy's scouts fired the first shot at 11.50. Our guns opened on the Boers at 12.15. We arrived at the Modder River at 4.12. The

enemy were completely surprised: two commandos fled, leaving their camp and everything standing. We captured their convoy and looted it, and it was found to contain food, clothes, rifles, ammunition, gold and silver watches, etc. This was a splendid performance, the surprise and rout of the enemy being absolute and complete. We had one officer wounded. We came a terrific pace and our horses were done up, many being lost—probably about 30.

14th.—Remained here all day. About 30 horses died of exhaustion in camp, the Household Cavalry, however, losing none. We saddled up at 3 a.m. At 11 the Blues went to line some kopjes outside the camp. We were continually sniped at till relieved at 3 p.m. The Boers nearly got Lord Airlie and Colonel Fenwick,* who rode up behind me, but I managed to stop the enemy's fire by firing volleys.

15th.—We left camp at 4 a.m. to relieve the Tenth Hussars on a kopje. We occupied the farm at which we had been firing yesterday, and returned to camp at 7 a.m. At 8 o'clock the naval 12-pounder guns, 14,000 infantry, and some mounted infantry came into camp. We saddled up at 8.30, and left camp at 9. Directly we started the guns got into action, the fire being returned pretty sharply by the enemy, who had our range and burst the shells very accurately. Two officers and twelve men of the gunners were wounded, besides six horses killed and thirteen wounded. General French, without waiting for the enemy's guns to be silenced, advanced with the whole 3,000 of his cavalry division at full gallop through a valley which was so narrow that the regiments were forced to gallop "in mass"—the closest cavalry formation—for a distance of three miles. Away we went in the first line; the Household Cavalry Regiment was on the right, the Tenth Hussars on its left, and the Twelfth Lancers again to the left of them. General Broadwood, in command of our Brigade, galloped throughout ahead of it. We left the astounded Boers firing away at us. They were in occupation of the kopjes on our right—about 700 or 800 yards away. Though they fired at and shelled us pretty hard, we had very few casualties; only horses were wounded. One man in my troop was hurt by a ricochet—I think from a shell. So fine a performance was worthy of the best cavalry generalship. Not a moment was wasted; the General saw his chance and instantly seized it. He has proved himself, to *my* mind, a true cavalry soldier, full of dash and, above all, full of pluck. Moreover, it was an enormous success, for it effected the relief of Kimberley. The Division halted at a well twelve miles from where we started. When the march was

* Henry Thomas Fenwick, b. 1863, R.H.G. '85, 2nd in com. R.H.G. '99, So. African war '99-1900 (despatches), D.S.O. '00, M.V.O. '01, Lt.-col. com. R.H.G.

resumed the Household Cavalry Regiment was in advance. The enemy all cleared out from before Kimberley, and General French dined in the town with Cecil Rhodes. The Division must have lost quite 100 horses from exhaustion. We encamped about seven miles from Kimberley.

De Beers Farm, 16th.—The Kimberley horses are all done up. There is no news of our led horses. We have nothing to eat and are very hungry indeed. The Blues squadron left camp at 1.30 p.m. to hold a farm about one mile away. We found a bag of flour, which we mixed with water and ate, to fill up the chinks!

17th.—“Fighting” orders came to turn out at 3.20 a.m., nobody knowing what for. My troop had dwindled down to twelve. At 9 a.m. we stopped at a farm and watered the horses and got some vegetables. Proceeding in an easterly direction by a forced march of twenty-five miles, we found the enemy on the Modder River at 12.45 p.m. The guns came into action, as did we behind the guns. The enemy used ring shell which, though bursting all round us, did no harm. They withdrew their guns from our fire, and then we advanced. It turned out that Broadwood’s Cavalry Brigade, viz., the Household Cavalry Regiment, the Tenth Hussars, the Twelfth Lancers, and two batteries R.H.A., had come out to head off Cronje’s force on its way from Magersfontein, and to hold it till the infantry should come to our support. The latter, under General Kelly-Kenny, did not arrive till 4 p.m., and all we could do was just to hold the enemy. Cronje’s convoy was very large—about 100 waggons. We went out to hold some kopjes, and only lost two horses shot. At 6 p.m. one squadron of the Tenth—about seventy strong—went out to reconnoitre. A terrible fire was opened on them, and in a few minutes they lost two men killed and three wounded. Our horses had nothing to eat, and were not watered till midnight, five miles off, and we got back at 1.45 a.m.

In Action at Modder River (Paardeberg), 18th.—Our guns kept the Boers awake last night and shelled the drift, thus preventing their taking the convoy away. The infantry, under General Kelly-Kenny, advanced on the enemy’s left flank, and we brought together a converging fire on them from the front and from two flanks. We knew we had got them in a hole. At 7 a.m. the Blues squadron was sent out to our right flank. At 10.30 there was a tremendous fusillade. We went forward to hold a kopje in front, but had to withdraw. We went back to a farm, encamped there and watered, and—thank goodness!—got something to eat.

CHAPTER LXXIX

FRENCH had headed off Cronje : so far it was well. But could he contain the enemy till the arrival of reinforcements ? French had still to prevent his enemy from pushing past him, even with the loss of his waggons and field-guns. He decided to attack at once. Cronje tried artillery fire, but it was harmless and presently ceased. Then the Boers tried to seize some high ground in a commanding situation, but a squadron of the 10th Hussars raced them for it, and with success. A squadron of the Household Cavalry Regiment was brought up to occupy this advanced post, and continued to do so till next day. It was found that Cronje was holding the river-bank. Another Boer force, which arrived during the day, was held well in check by the 12th Lancers. The British squadrons bivouacked in their positions. French was greatly relieved in mind next morning on finding that Cronje had not given him the slip during the night. He signalled by heliograph to Lord Kitchener that he had headed off the enemy, shelled him for 20 hours, prevented him from moving, and held another Boer force in check. Throughout the 17th the situation remained nearly unchanged, while French awaited the coming of the infantry.

Kelly-Kenny's division did not get into touch with Cronje much before 7 a.m. on the morning of the 18th. Cronje was laagered in the hollow of the Modder. The 18th brigade (Stephenson's) was located to the south-east of his position, and the 13th brigade to the south ; while

the Highland brigade and part of Colville's division attacked the enemy from the south-west and west. On the other side of the river the 19th brigade (Smith-Dorrien's) operated, and French's cavalry kept the enemy hemmed in on the north and north-east.

The battle of Paardeberg, fought on the 18th, continued the whole day, the troops pressing the attack on both flanks, but meeting with very stubborn opposition. The Boers were in and about the river bed, their main laager being on the north bank. The fight, which was mainly an infantry action, was long and bloody, and among the wounded were Generals Knox and Macdonald. At nightfall the enemy still held on to his entrenchments, though his laager, waggons and ammunition were destroyed.

From the 19th to the 27th the British daily worked nearer and nearer to the Boer lines. On the latter date the Canadians, under a heavy fire, succeeded during the night in completing a new trench close to and enfilading some of the enemy's lines. Cronje saw that the game was up, and at dawn he surrendered.

The events of these stirring days, so far as they affect the Household Cavalry Regiment, are thus recorded in the diary :—

February 17th.—Turned out at 2.30 a.m. and marched east. The 2nd Brigade and two batteries R.H.A. arrived at Kamilfontein at 11.15 a.m., when a large force, with a long train of waggons, was reported to the south-east. General French ordered the brigade forward at once, and it occupied ground overlooking the Modder River, where the Boers were seen crossing the Drift. An artillery duel commenced, and the 1st Life Guards' squadron occupied a kopje on the Boers' left rear, where they remained all night, having to send their horses four miles to water at Kamilfontein.

18th.—The infantry arrived from the West and more Artillery. The Boers were heavily shelled and a convoy set on fire. The Squadron returned to Kamilfontein on relief. No food for men or horses.

19th.—The Regiment was employed in investing the Boer position.

20th.—Advanced to Koedoesrand Drift to hold the east end of the Boer position.

21st.—The 1st and the 2nd Life Guards' squadrons, the 9th Lancers, and two Batteries, turned out at 4.30 a.m., crossed the Koedoesrand Drift, and advanced into a plain, surrounded by kopjes, where a heavy fire was opened; then retired and turned the south kopje and moved on towards Kitchener's Hill. The Boers, about 800 strong, made a sudden attack on the column when entangled in wire fences. The Household Cavalry Regiment formed up and returned the fire, while the Artillery disengaged themselves from the wire fence, and opened with shrapnel, when the Boers hurriedly retired and evacuated Kitchener's Hill. Lieutenant-Colonel Calley's horse was shot, and he himself was injured by the fall.*

23rd.—The Household Cavalry Regiment marched to the South of the Modder River and joined the remainder of the 2nd Brigade.

25th.—The 1st Life Guards' squadron moved to Banksdrift.

26th.—Returned to our former bivouac on relief.

27th.—The 1st Life Guards were out on flying column. Cronje surrendered.

On March 7th was fought the battle of Osfontein, of which Lord Roberts made the following report home :—

We have had a very successful day, and completely routed the enemy, who are in full retreat. The position they occupied was extremely strong, and cunningly arranged with a second line of intrenchments, which would have caused us heavy loss had a direct attack been made. The turning movement was necessarily wide, owing to the nature of the ground, and the cavalry and horse-artillery horses are much done up. The fighting was practically confined to the Cavalry division, which, as usual, did exceedingly well.

The 12th Lancers lost one officer and one private killed; a trooper of the 2nd Life Guards was killed, and several officers and men in these regiments and in the 9th Lancers and 10th Hussars were wounded—Captain De Crespigny, Second Life Guards, dangerously. The diary says :—

March 6th.—The force advanced to Osfontein.

7th.—The Household Cavalry Regiment moved out with the 2nd Brigade to outflank the Boer position. Engaged at 6.30 a.m. The

* Thomas Charles Pleydell Calley, 1st Life Guards 1876, Egypt '82, (medal with clasp, Khedive's star), capt. '86, maj. '94, lt.-col. '98, brev. col. 2nd-in-com. Household Cavalry Regiment in South Africa '99-1900 (medal with five clasps, despatches), M.V.O., col. com. 1st L. G.

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1st Life Guards' squadron was told off to escort the G Battery R.H.A. Reached Poplar Grove at 5 p.m. and bivouacked.*

The march being resumed, the battle of Driefontein was fought on March 10th. In the advance on Driefontein the 2nd Cavalry Brigade endeavoured, in conjunction with the 1st, to turn the rear of the Boers by operating in the plain behind the ridge which they were holding. Lord Roberts in his despatch says :—

The enemy's guns, however, had a longer range than our field-guns, which were the only ones immediately available, and some time elapsed before the former could be silenced.

The Boers were not cleared out of the kopjes until the infantry assault was made.

On March 12th the 1st and 2nd Cavalry brigades occupied positions to the south and south-west of Bloemfontein commanding the city, and on the 13th Lord Roberts made his entry into the capital of the Orange State, having with him a total force of 34,000 men. The diary account is as follows :—

March 10th.—Marched at 6 a.m. to Driefontein. Advanced some three miles in the dark after the action and bivouacked.

11th.—The 1st Life Guards' squadron rejoined the Brigade and marched on Asvogel Kop, reaching Blaawboschpan at 2 p.m.

12th.—Marched at 5 a.m. to Venters Vlei, then east till dark—in all about 40 miles.

13th.—Marched at 5.30 a.m. and occupied a position on the hills near Bloemfontein, when the Boers retired ; marched on six miles to Springfield. †

For the operations up to this date three officers and three non-commissioned officers of the Household Cavalry Regiment were mentioned in Lord Roberts's despatch.

* The rest of the Regiment did not go into camp at Poplar Grove till 9.30 p.m. (*Meade.*)

† Strength of the Household Cavalry Regiment after arrival at Bloemfontein, March 18th, 1900. Parade state, Springfield:—Officers, 18; N.C.O.'s and Men, 203; Chargers, 43; Public horses, 175. (*The Hon. A. Meade's Journal.*)

CHAPTER LXXX

THE entry of Lord Roberts into Bloemfontein on March 13th, 1900, seemed like the beginning of the end. It is true that many difficult questions as to supplies, hospital stores, reinforcements, remounts* and guns had to be faced. On the other hand, there appeared to be a growing disposition, at least among many of the Boers, to accept the situation cheerfully and even to welcome the establishment of the British supremacy.

For the purpose of distributing proclamations and to complete the pacification of the Orange Free State a number of small columns or detachments were despatched to various points, many of them isolated from the main army. Amongst these was a force of 300 mounted infantry sent to secure the waterworks at Sannah's Post on the Modder River, twenty-one miles due east of Bloemfontein, which derived its sole supply of pure water from this source.

Twenty-one miles farther east is Thaba 'Nchu, whither was despatched, under French's command, a larger column,

* French's cavalry horses, on arrival at Paardeberg, were reduced in number by more than 30 per cent. When Bloemfontein was reached the wastage was 60 per cent. Koedoesrand Drift, February 25th. Lt.-Col. Audley Neeld, 1st Life Guards, Commanding H.C.R., returns the number of horses of the Regiment fit to march with the Cavalry Division as follows :—Chargers, 59; Squadron-horses, 308; Total, 367. The merits of the Household Cavalry as horsemasters would receive ample testimony at the hands of the officer who was responsible for the Remounts during the campaign, Colonel Birkbeck.

composed of 1,500 * mounted troops—none too strong a force to cope with Olivier's important commando, which, "trekking" north from Cape Colony, was in the Ladybrand district, close to the Basuto border. French's column included (1) the Second Cavalry brigade under Broadwood, made up of 170 sabres 10th Hussars and 130 sabres Household Cavalry; (2) Alderson's Mounted Infantry brigade, in which were combined the 3rd battalion Mounted Infantry, Rimington's Guides, one squadron of New Zealanders, the Burma Mounted Infantry, and Roberts's Horse; and (3) the Q and U Batteries R.H.A.

French, who reached Thaba 'Nchu on March 20th, was called away on other duty on the 26th, leaving Broadwood in command. In the long line from Bloemfontein to Thaba 'Nchu there were only two intermediate links—the one already named, at Sannah's Post, and another at Springfield, eight miles from Bloemfontein.

Twenty-five miles away to the east of Thaba 'Nchu Colonel Pilcher was sent to occupy the Leeuw River flour-mills. From thence he went out eighteen miles farther east to reconnoitre Ladybrand, but was compelled on the approach of Olivier's commando to retire at full speed to join Broadwood at Thaba 'Nchu.†

Meanwhile the Boer leaders, gathered during March at Kroonstad, so far from being disheartened, were planning an entire reorganisation of their efforts. Younger men began to come to the front, and among these Christian De Wet was not the least able. With a column of 1,600 men—reduced to a much stricter discipline than any Boer commando had ever known before—and seven guns, he came south from Brandfort on a line roughly parallel with

* This is the accepted figure. Meade's Journal, quoted in the APPENDIX, makes it 800.

† See APPENDIX.

the railway. Learning Olivier's intention to attack Broadwood at Thaba 'Nchu, De Wet decided to capture the Bloemfontein waterworks at Sannah's Post before the little garrison could be reinforced either from Thaba 'Nchu or from Bloemfontein. He saw also that he would be at the same time cutting across Broadwood's line of retreat. On hearing, further, that Broadwood had already despatched a convoy destined for Bloemfontein, De Wet calculated on being able to capture this also.

The waterworks were on the west or left bank of the Modder River, which here flows due north. Parallel to it, at a distance of two and a quarter miles to the west, runs the Koornspruit. The Thaba 'Nchu-Bloemfontein road passes from the waterworks drift at the Modder to the drift on the spruit, the bed of the latter being fifteen feet below the level of the plain. On a slight eminence just beyond this latter drift lay Pretorius's farm.

De Wet divided his force into two, sending his brother Piet with 1,200 men and the guns to the east side of the Modder, while he himself with 400 men went to the west of the Koornspruit, lining the bank of the spruit with riflemen and occupying the farm buildings. The trap was laid; by 4 a.m. on March 31st the Boers were hidden in ambush.

Thus far De Wet had hoped to capture the garrison of the waterworks and the approaching convoy. While it was still dark, however, he learnt that Broadwood had followed the convoy with his whole force, was already across the Modder, and was bivouacking near the waterworks. Broadwood's abandonment of Thaba 'Nchu was obviously the right course; his original business there was not to fight, but to distribute proclamations. It was a difficult place to hold, and his small mounted force, entirely "in the air," forty miles away from any support, was over-matched by Olivier's commando of 5,000 men. The

approach of the latter from Ladybrand decided Broadwood to retire by the Bloemfontein road, and he notified Lord Roberts to that effect.

De Wet, undismayed by the advance of the British, extended his hopes, and now calculated on ambushing the whole of Broadwood's force.

The unsuspecting British, who had quitted Thaba 'Nchu at 9 p.m. the day before, did not reach Sannah's Post till 4.30 a.m. on the 31st, when the tired soldiers at once bivouacked. With the little garrison they numbered 1,800 men all told. Beyond the posting of a few sentries a couple of hundred yards off, no outposts were sent out in a district so near the capital, and assumed to be clear of the enemy, although it is said that Broadwood had specially ordered that patrols should reconnoitre the country east, south and north—*not* west!

At sunrise—at 6 a.m.—shots were heard from the east, from the other side of the Modder. At 6.20 Piet De Wet was shelling Broadwood's bivouac. Broadwood naturally supposed that Olivier had come up in pursuit. The convoy, with its scared Kaffir drivers, dashed off in some disorder towards the Koornspruit. The troops soon saddled up and began to resume their march westwards. The U and Q Batteries, without replying to the Boer gunfire, with Roberts's Horse as escort, followed the convoy.

Broadwood, as yet suspecting nothing of the ambush in front of him, was told of 300 Boers seen galloping on the north towards Boesman's Kop, a hill two and a half miles to the west of Pretorius's farm. To guard against the enemy's seizure of the Kop, he ordered U Battery forward to the farm, from which point it was to cover the march of the whole force. It was presently seen that the waggons of the convoy were blocked in the drift, though nothing was known of the real cause of this—that they were held up by the

Boers! No shots being fired, the U Battery continued to advance towards the drift, and went right down into the spruit—to fall instantly into the hands of De Wet.* Fortunately, Major Taylor, in command of the U Battery, was able to run back and warn Major Phipps Hornby and the Q Battery. The latter at once wheeled about, and with Roberts's Horse, galloped back for 900 yards. Then for the first time the Boers concealed in the spruit opened fire. Five of the guns of Q Battery were saved, one being overturned and abandoned; and one of the U Battery's guns was rescued—six in all. Hornby lost no time, and he and his men by 8 a.m. had begun firing on De Wet, and continued to work the guns so long as there was a man left to do it.

Broadwood, hoping still to retrieve the day, coolly planned a counter-surprise for the enemy, to be carried out by his cavalry. Three miles higher up the spruit there was another drift. The Household Cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Fenwick of the Blues,† had taken ground eastwards in perfect order, and now, promptly performing their allotted part, dashed southwards and seized the drift, which they held to the end for the other troops to pass over. They worked steadily down the spruit under Boer fire,‡ in order to check any attempt of the enemy to extend his line southwards.

Colonel Fisher with the 10th Hussars had been sent

* Meade (*Journal*) explains that ahead of the column was a nullah, which the guns got across. Just ahead again was another nullah, shaped in a curve, in which were about 600 Boers.

† Lt.-Col. Neeld, 2nd Life Guards, its commanding officer, was in hospital, while the second in command, Lt.-Col. Calley, 1st Life Guards, who had had his ribs broken at Paardeberg, was unable to get back to take over the command till April 4th, when he joined the Regiment at Bloemspuit.

‡ At this time several casualties occurred, Lieut. the Hon. A. Meade, R.H.G., being amongst the wounded.

across the spruit under orders to make a *détour* with the object of ascertaining whether Boesman's Kop was still occupied by a British force, and then to demonstrate against De Wet's rear.

Meanwhile Alderson and the several bodies of mounted infantry were keeping Piet De Wet well at bay; so that, if only the turning movement could have been carried out in time, all might still have been well.

The position was critical, celerity being essential to success. Broadwood was unaware that, by Lord Roberts's order, Colonel Martyr with 600 men was already on the way from Springfield, and that General Colville with his whole division was also advancing from Bloemfontein. Broadwood, keenly anxious for his well-planned cavalry diversion to "come off," found the Household Cavalry Regiment where he had ordered it—well holding De Wet's right flank. He observed that Fisher, on the other hand, across the spruit with the 10th Hussars, had made very little progress. Replacing the Household Cavalry Regiment with the Burma Mounted Infantry, he sent the former on to stiffen Fisher, with renewed orders to carry out the manœuvre already described.*

After waiting till ten o'clock for signs of the cavalry attack on De Wet's rear, Broadwood judged that a general retreat could no longer be delayed, and this was carried out in excellent order, thanks chiefly to Alderson's coolness and skill and to Hornby's calm courage in working his guns despite all difficulties. The mishap had

* An officer of the 2nd Life Guards, writes (December 12th, 1908) in answer to inquiries:—“(1) To the best of my recollection the Spruit was dry. (2) The Household Cavalry Regiment seized the Southern Drift unopposed, or rather held a part of the Spruit near by while the others crossed. (3) I do not remember who took the place of the Household Cavalry Regiment at the Spruit, when we were sent on to join Fisher and the Tenth at Boesman's Kop, but it must have been some M.I.”

indeed been serious, but Lord Roberts entirely exonerated General Broadwood from blame. Out of a total of 1,800 men, nearly 600 were lost—the killed and wounded numbering 159; the prisoners, 421. Of the 12 guns 7 were captured; and of the 92 waggons loaded with stores only 9 remained, the Household Cavalry losing its kit.

Such is the tangled story of Sannah's Post. The accounts of the cavalry movements are conflicting. It has been stated that the 10th Hussars were ordered to seize and hold the southern drift, and that by some misunderstanding they simply crossed the spruit and went on, so that the Household Cavalry Regiment had to be sent instead. In point of fact the Household Cavalry Regiment seized the drift, and covered the crossing of the 10th Hussars. It is also the fact that the Household Cavalry Regiment was sent first into the Koornspruit to hold De Wet's right flank, and was afterwards despatched across it to join Fisher. Another version, however, ignores this latter statement, and represents them as continuing to hold their own in the spruit until the general retirement. The extract from the diary quoted below neither confirms this account, nor does it make mention of the Household Cavalry Regiment having been sent on to co-operate with the other cavalry:—

March 17th.—General French inspected the Regiment.

18th.—Marched at 3 p.m. in heavy rain to Boesman's Kop, 6 miles east, with the 10th Hussars and two Batteries.

19th.—Marched 22 miles to Cameron's Farm.

20th.—Marched to Thaba 'Nchu. A Half-Squadron occupied a kopje to the north of the Town. A Half-Squadron left to hold the town under Major Carter.

29th.—Lieut.-Colonel Neeld,* Commanding the Household Cavalry Regiment, went into hospital with enteric fever.

* Sir Audley Dallas Neeld, b. 1849, 2nd Life Guards 1871, capt. '81, maj. '89, lt.-col. '99, com. Household Cavalry Regiment South Africa '99-1900 (despatches), com. 2nd Life Guards.

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30th.—The enemy threatened an attack ; we turned out at 11 a.m. ; held a kopje all day ; retired after dark, and started on the march to Bloemfontein.

31st.—Were fired on by artillery before turning out ; many shells fell among the troops, but there were no casualties. Marched, with the waggons in front, towards Boesman's Kop under a continued fire at long range. The 1st Life Guards' Squadron acted as flank guard on the left flank of the column. On Koorn Spruit, at Sannah's Post, being reached, it was found to be held by 400 Boers in ambush, who at once captured the waggons and 7 guns out of the twelve in the "Q" and "U" Batteries R.H.A. The Household Cavalry were ordered to dash to the south and capture a drift. The 10th Hussars then crossed under cover of the Household Cavalry, followed by the remainder of the "Q" Battery and the Mounted Infantry ; and the whole force retired to Springfield. The First Life Guards had 13 casualties.

April 1st.—The Household Cavalry (except the 2nd Life Guards) and the remainder of the force, reinforced by the Greys and the Carabineers, marched to Waterval Drift, to threaten the Boers' flank, while the Infantry attacked the Waterworks. The attack was counter-ordered, and the Cavalry bivouacked on the Modder.

2nd.—Marched back to Springfield.

4th.—Marched to Bloemspruit. Lieut.-Colonel Calley, 1st Life Guards, arrived and took over command of the Household Cavalry Regiment.

5th.—The Household Cavalry were flooded out of their camp by a heavy rain, and had to move to higher ground.

APPENDIX

FROM Lieutenant Meade's Journal:—

Bloemfontein, March 17th.—General French came to-day and told us that Lord Roberts wanted our Brigade to go out to Thaba 'Nchu, to remain there a day and then come back. It was a great disappointment, as we had been hoping to give our horses a rest and get them fit. The idea was that we were to go due east and proclaim peace to the Orange Free State people, and get them to lay down their arms. We were therefore to be only a weak force.

18th.—We paraded in front of our camp at 3 p.m., and the remainder of the force joined us. It consisted of the Household Cavalry Regiment, the Tenth Hussars, the Q and U Batteries R.H.A., and some mounted infantry, viz., Roberts's Horse, the Queensland M.I., and the Burma M.I., besides Rimington's Scouts—about 800 strong. It was really a great feather in the cap of the Household Cavalry—their being able to undertake the job and compete with light cavalry. We had done all the hard work, and now we were turning out in greater strength than the others, with our horses looking better. Nobody will ever be able in future to say that “the Household Cavalry are useless,” or that “their men are too big and their horses no good.” After a five miles march we reached Boesman's Kop, on the summit of which is a reservoir which provides Bloemfontein with water. There we spent the night.

19th.—We went about fourteen miles, passing the Bloemfontein waterworks at Sannah's Post, eight miles due east of Boesman's Kop, and crossing the same old Modder River for the sixth time. We camped at Cameron's Farm.

20th.—At 4 p.m. we reached our destination, Thaba 'Nchu, a small township of fifty houses, built of corrugated iron and stone, and situated at the western entrance of a defile. The latter stretches eastwards for eight miles, and is enclosed by very high hills. At the western entrance is a higher hill, Thaba 'Nchu, 2,700 feet high.

21st.—Colonel Pilcher, with 200 men, a squadron of the Tenth (30 strong), and a machine-gun, was sent on to occupy the Leeuw River flour mills, twenty-five miles further to the east. The rest of the

force was distributed about the hills, and only the regimental staff left in camp.

22nd.—At 4 a.m. a message came from Pilcher to the effect that he was in danger of being cut off, and asking for assistance. The Blues squadron was accordingly sent out with a battery, but returned soon after noon, on Pilcher being reported all right. It appeared that the whole of Groebler's army had come up from the south and approached Pilcher, encamping to his left rear, and threatening his line of retreat. They abstained, however, from attacking him, being themselves much demoralised, and also believing that Pilcher had 18 guns and 3,000 infantry. Jolly lucky for Pilcher!

26th.—General French inspected us in the morning, and in the afternoon left for Bloemfontein. There was a race meeting for Kaffirs. News arrived of the death from exhaustion, at Kimberley, of Corporal-Major Blair. There was no better man in the Blues squadron.

27th.—Started with General Broadwood at 5 a.m. to visit Pilcher, riding the twenty-five miles in four hours, and reaching the Leeuw River flour mills by 9 a.m. Pilcher's position was a very strong one, or might have been with more infantry and some guns. He had had a very narrow squeak. Having gone out the day before with his force to reconnoitre Ladybrand, eighteen miles to the east, he found the town covered with white flags. Entering the place, he took the precaution of leaving some of the Tenth Hussars outside, with a Maxim to cover his retreat should it be necessary. He got the keys of the town at the post office, and began destroying ammunition and stores. Suddenly a sergeant of the Tenth brought news of the advance of a commando from the far side of the town. Pilcher (with the mayor in a cart) and his force immediately retired. As the little column cleared out of the town, fire was opened on them from some of the houses that had previously been flying the white flag. The Maxim opened on the commando, checking its advance sufficiently to cover Pilcher's retirement. He lost five men prisoners and two wounded, but got away safely. The enemy having by this time learnt Pilcher's real strength began to advance, and on the day we were there (27th) was gradually converging on his force from both flanks. A Basuto came in and reported the enemy's intention to attack next morning. We left at 12.30 p.m. for Thaba 'Nchu, on the way meeting a messenger from Lord Roberts with a letter ordering Pilcher to come in. We got into camp at 6 p.m.

28th.—Pilcher retired from his position yesterday, and arrived this morning at Thaba 'Nchu.

CHAPTER LXXXI

THE affair at Sannah's Post was followed by various exhibitions of the Boers' activity in the eastern districts of the Orange State. Though they scored by the capture of a British detachment near Reddersburg on April 4th, they came off only second-best at the siege of Wepener from April 9th to the 25th. Ian Hamilton, moreover, recaptured the Waterworks on April 23rd, and this was followed by his immediate advance to and occupation of Thaba 'Nchu on the 25th, where De Wet and other Boer leaders had brought together 4,000 men. Two days later French's cavalry arrived, and on the 28th his attempt to surround the Boer laager failed of success.

Lord Roberts was now ready to begin his memorable advance to Pretoria, of which it has been well said that—apart from its motives and its results, and regarded simply as a military achievement—it “takes its place among the memorable marches in military history.” On April 20th, during its stay at Bloemfontein, the Household Cavalry Regiment was reinforced from England by two officers and twenty men drawn from each of the three Regiments of Household Cavalry. Lord Roberts left Bloemfontein on May 3rd and entered Pretoria on June 5th—a distance of 300 miles being covered in thirty-four days. But for sixteen days of the thirty-four the army was halting, so that the average distance marched daily was sixteen and a half miles.

This march was not an isolated movement, but part of a convergent advance of several columns along a front of 600 miles—Hunter starting from Kimberley on the left flank, Methuen advancing from Modder River camp, and Buller operating on the extreme right flank in Natal. There being, however, a dangerous gap between Lord Roberts's central column and Buller—this right flank being, as the events of April had shown, specially exposed to attack—the Commander-in-Chief decided to protect it by detaching a strong column to move in a line parallel with that of the main army, at a distance eastwards of between twenty and forty miles. The command of this right wing or Winburg column was entrusted to Major-General Ian Hamilton, at this moment in command of the mounted infantry division at Thaba 'Nchu.

At the beginning of May the main or central column, together with the Winburg contingent, numbered 38,000 men; the other forces brought the total to something over 100,000. The Boers actually in the field amounted to 30,000—with, however, a large reserve to draw upon, and with the whole country as their base of supply.

On April 25th Lord Roberts inspected Broadwood's Cavalry brigade, still consisting of the Household Cavalry Regiment, the 10th Hussars and the 12th Lancers, which, on the 29th, in conjunction with Bruce Hamilton's Infantry brigade, marched to Krantz Kraal, ten miles north of Springfield and fifteen miles E.N.E. of Bloemfontein, both brigades being incorporated with Ian Hamilton's command. Ian Hamilton himself, being still at Thaba 'Nchu, was ordered to move ten miles northwards to Hout Nek, and thence four miles west to Jacobsrust, where he was to be joined by Broadwood and Bruce Hamilton, and then to proceed fifty miles N.N.E. to Winburg. Leaving French behind at Thaba 'Nchu, Ian Hamilton started early on April 30th with a brigade of

mounted infantry, Smith-Dorrien's Infantry brigade, and two batteries. The road to Hout Nek is flanked on the right throughout its whole length of ten miles by a line of hills. These, turning sharply to the west, join the Toba mountain. At the point of junction the Jacobsrust-Winburg road passes over the hills, which are also crossed by another road further east at Hout Nek.

By nine o'clock the British force, with a long line of transport, had its advance guard of mounted infantry across the Korama Spruit, seven miles from the start, when it was held up by heavy rifle-fire. The enemy was found to be occupying the whole line of hills and also the mountain, but his principal strength was at the Hout Nek pass.

Ian Hamilton, while holding the enemy on the hills in check with mounted infantry, decided to launch an infantry attack on Toba mountain, which commanded the road. The attack failed, as also, however, did a counter-attack by the enemy. At nightfall no progress had been made, and the troops bivouacked as they were.

French, having been asked for reinforcements, sent the 4th (Dickson's) Cavalry brigade and one battery during the night; a battalion of infantry and a field battery were ordered to proceed early next morning, May 1st; and two squadrons with two guns were ordered up from Israel's Poort to threaten the Toba position on the south-west.

All the reinforcements having duly arrived by 9 a.m., a force of cavalry was sent on a turning movement round Toba, and then an advance of the infantry cleared the mountain by 1 p.m. The British infantry and mounted infantry had meanwhile been also attacking the Boer left. After a tough resistance, the enemy made good his retreat, being suddenly moved thereto by the appearance on his right flank of Bruce Hamilton's and Broadwood's brigades.

These two brigades had on the previous day been engaged in some vague fighting near Krantz Kraal, in which the various commanders were left to their own devices. Of several objects in view, one was to help Broadwood and Bruce Hamilton to effect their junction with Ian Hamilton. There were a good many casualties, Broadwood on the right flank not receiving the infantry co-operation he needed, losing some men and finding himself isolated at nightfall. Next day, May 1st, the two brigades, with two field batteries and two 5-inch guns, reached Jacobsrust, where by the same evening the whole Winburg column had concentrated. On May 2nd the column halted, being joined by Colvile, who had orders to march at some miles' distance to the rear of the column, and to assist as need might arise. The diary thus proceeds:—

April 25th.—Lord Roberts inspected the 2nd Brigade (Broadwood's) consisting of the Household Cavalry Regiment, the 10th Hussars, and the 12th Lancers.

29th.—The Brigade marched to Kranz Kraal and joined Major-General Bruce Hamilton's Infantry Brigade, the whole force being under the command of Major-General Ian Hamilton.

30th.—Marched at daybreak towards Kaalfontein; the Cavalry turned some kopjes occupied by the enemy, who retired as soon as the position was turned, till, arriving at the furthest of the group of kopjes, they made a stand, and held the Cavalry off with a heavy fire till night. The Cavalry bivouacked as they were and the enemy retired during the night.

May 1st.—Marched back to Kaalfontein after daybreak, and thence towards Thaba 'Nchu. We turned the flank of the Boers' position at Hout Nek, which they evacuated; but they were too strong to allow us to attack with any prospect of success.

2nd.—Remained on the ground.

Ian Hamilton's column had even harder work on the march to Pretoria than fell to the lot of the main body. Whereas the latter traversed a distance of 300 miles, the Winburg force marched 384 miles, and had only eight

days' halt out of thirty-seven. Their marches were as follows:—

						Miles.
April	29th.	Thaba 'Nchu	.	.	.	—
	30th.	Toba	.	.	.	15
May	1st—2nd.	Jacobsrust	.	.	.	3
	3rd.	Isabellafontein	.	.	.	16
	4th.	Welkom	.	.	.	16
	5th.	Winburg	.	.	.	15
	6th.	Dankbaarfontein	.	.	.	10
	7th—8th.	[Halt]	.	.	.	—
	9th.	Bloemplatz	.	.	.	12
	10th.	4 m. S.W. of Ventersburg	.	.	.	12
	11th.	Twistniet	.	.	.	16
	12th.	Kroonstad	.	.	.	20
	13th—15th.	[Halt]	.	.	.	—
	16th.	Tweepunt	.	.	.	18
	17th.	Elandspruit.	.	.	.	17
	18th.	Lindley	.	.	.	19
	20th.	Karroospruit	.	.	.	15
	21st.	Witpoort	.	.	.	19
	22nd.	Heilbron	.	.	.	13
	23rd.	Spitz Kop	.	.	.	11
	24th.	Elysium, N. of Vredefort Road	.	.	.	14
	25th.	Wolvehoek	.	.	.	8
	26th.	Boschbank	.	.	.	15
	27th.	Wildebeestfontein	.	.	.	23
	28th.	Cyferfontein	.	.	.	9
	29th.	Doornkop	.	.	.	18
	30th.	Florida	.	.	.	6
	31st.	[Halt]	.	.	.	—
June	1st.	Braamfontein	.	.	.	5
	2nd.	[Halt]	.	.	.	—
	3rd.	Diepsloot	.	.	.	17
	4th.	Six Mile Spruit	.	.	.	14
	5th.	Pretoria	.	.	.	8

For the purpose of comparison there is appended to this chapter the complete itinerary of the 2nd Cavalry Brigade taken from the Journal of Capt. the Hon. A. Meade, R.H.G., and covering, not only the Bloemfontein-Pretoria march, but the whole route followed by the Brigade from its formation.*

* See APPENDIX.

On May 3rd began the general advance of the British army upon the Transvaal capital. Ian Hamilton's action had relieved much of the pressure on Lord Roberts's right flank. The Winburg force was sent forward to secure the drifts south of Winburg. Next day Hamilton found himself once more opposed by Philip Botha near Welkom Farm. Broadwood, riding at the head of his brigade, quickly realised the situation. To his immediate front was a force of nearly 4,000 men, and from the direction of Brandfort nearly 1,000 men were hurrying along to reinforce them.

It was imperatively necessary to drive in a wedge between the converging commandos, and the Blues squadron under Captain Lord Sudley* was ordered to seize the central knolls of the intervening ridge.

A desperate race ensued, the Blues gaining the ridge as the Brandfort Boers got up to it from the other side. The latter, perceiving themselves foiled, swerved to the south and joined their comrades on the lowest point of the ridge, with the result that the Blues found themselves under a galling fire from right and left. Lord Airlie with two squadrons of the 12th Lancers, and Colonel Legge† with Kitchener's Horse and some M.I., came to their support, in their turn just anticipating a band of Boers who were mounting the slope from the west. The enemy, thus sundered, lost heart, and, without waiting for Hamilton's infantry attack to develop, made off at top speed, pursued by the shells of the two 5-inch guns; while Broadwood with his cavalry and some M.I. rode on and seized the drift over the Vet River at Welkom Farm.

* Viscount Sudley, b. 1868, succ. as 6th earl of Arran 1901, capt. com. R.H.G. squadron of the Household Cavalry Regiment in South African war 1900 (brevet major, med. with 4 clasps).

† Lord Airlie was slightly wounded on this occasion, and both these officers were subsequently killed in action.

The Blues' brilliant bit of cavalry work was not effected without paying a heavy price. Lieutenant Rose, dashing forward to see what lay beyond the further crest of the hill, became the prey of a score of lurking riflemen. He fell pierced by a dozen bullets, and half-an-hour later entered into his rest. A braver or better young soldier never breathed, and the pathos of his death was enhanced by the fact that an equally gifted and zealous brother, who had done splendid service under Buller, had died a month earlier of enteric fever.*

The diary makes this record :—

May 3rd.—Marched to Verheede Vley, 15 miles north.

4th.—Continued the march north at daybreak for about 5 miles. Two guns on a kopje about 2,000 yards on our right opened on the advanced guard. The Blues Squadron was ordered to occupy a kopje to our front, and galloping to it they occupied one end as the Boers occupied the other. A sharp skirmish took place, in which the Blues had several casualties. Lieutenant the Hon. C. Wyndham, late 1st Life Guards, attached to the Blues, was wounded in the head. The 12th Lancers' Maxim gun came up on the right of the Blues, and the M.I. turned the enemy's flank, who then retired. The infantry now came up in support, and the whole force advanced, in spite of a heavy fire, to the Drift over the Vet River at Welkom Farm, which was seized by the cavalry, under cover of the five guns, without further casualties.

5th.—Occupied Winburg without opposition, after a turning movement to the west.

6th.—An Officer's patrol of the 1st Life Guards under Captain Milner was nearly cut off, one man being taken prisoner.

The difficulty of obtaining supplies for the Winburg column, which was sometimes as much as sixty miles from the railway, and required daily some fifty waggon-loads of food and forage, involved the employment of no fewer than 500 waggons drawn by 5,000 mules.

* Another brother, Lieutenant Adrian Rose, was then on his way out with a draft of the Blues. His brilliant career was also cut short eight years later by malignant fever.

APPENDIX

ROUTE OF THE SECOND CAVALRY BRIGADE FROM MODDER RIVER,
WHERE IT WAS FORMED, TO PRETORIA, FEBRUARY 11TH TO
AUGUST 28TH, 1900.

(From the Journal of Capt. the Hon. A. Meade, R.H.G.)

					MILES.	
February	11th	Ramdan	.	.	.	18
	12th	Dekiel	.	.	.	8
	13th	Klip Drift	.	.	.	24
	14th	Rest day	.	.	.	—
	15th	Kimberley	.	.	.	20
	16th	Rest day	.	.	.	—
	17th	Paardeberg	.	.	.	28
	18th	Fighting	.	.	.	12
	19th	Paardeberg Camp	.	.	.	25
	20th	Rest day	.	.	.	—
	21st	Paardeberg Camp	.	.	.	18
	22nd	"	"	.	.	10
	23rd	"	"	.	.	9
	24th	Koedoesrand Drift (10 days)	.	.	.	—
	till					
March	5th	Osfontein	.	.	.	5
	7th	Poplar Grove	.	.	.	28
	8th	Rest days (2)	.	.	.	—
	9th					
	10th	Driefontein	.	.	.	28
	11th	Blaawboschpan	.	.	.	7
	12th	" Spruit	.	.	.	30
	13th	Bloemfontein to Springfield	.	.	.	18
	14th	Springfield	.	.	.	—
	15th	Rest days (3)	.	.	.	—
	16th					
	17th					
	18th	Boesman's Kop	.	.	.	8

MILES. DAYS.
— 288 in 30

				MILES.		
March	19th	Cameron's Farm . . .		22		
	20th	Thaba 'Nchu . . .		8		
	21st	} <i>Rest days</i> (9) . . .		—		
	till					
	29th					
April	30th	Sannah's Post and	}	34		
	31st	Springfield				
	1st	Waterval Drift . . .		12		
	2nd	Springfield . . .		12		
	3rd	Bloemspruit . . .		4	MILES.	DAYS.
May				—	100 in 17	
	29th	Krantz Kraal . . .		9		
	30th	Aanstad . . .		15		
	1st	Fairfield . . .		12		
	2nd	<i>Rest day</i> . . .		—		
	3rd	Verheede Vley . . .		15		
	4th	Welkom . . .		15		
	5th	Winburg . . .		14		
	6th	Grootdam . . .		8		
	7th	} <i>Rest days</i> (2) . . .		—		
	8th					
	9th	Bloemplatz . . .		10		
	10th	Wilbebestfontein . . .		18		
	11th	? . . .		16		
	12th	Kroonspruit . . .		14		
	13th	} <i>Rest days</i> (2) . . .		—		
	14th					
	15th	? . . .		6		
	16th	Van Dyks Kraal . . .		20		
	17th	Lindley . . .		18		
	18th	} <i>Rest days</i> (2) . . .		—		
	19th					
	20th	De Rust . . .		16		
	21st	Rietfontein . . .		16		
	22nd	Heilbron . . .		20		
	23rd	Kleinreitspan . . .		10		
	24th	Arcadia . . .		13		
	25th	Wonderwater . . .		20		
	26th	Wilbebestfontein . . .		16		
	27th	Hartzenbergfontein . . .		12		
	28th	Doornkop . . .		16		
	29th	Florida . . .		8		
	30th	<i>Rest day</i> . . .		—		
	31st	Braamfontein . . .		7		

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						MILES.	
June	1st	} Rest days (2)	.	.	.	—	
	2nd		.	.	.	—	
	3rd	Diepsloot	.	.	.	15	
	4th	Six Mile Spruit	.	.	.	12	
	5th	Pretoria	.	.	.	10	
		Diedepoort	.	.	.	8	
	6th	Irene	.	.	.	15	
	7th	Rest day	.	.	.	—	
	8th	Zwanelpoort	.	.	.	10	
	9th	} Rest days (2)	.	.	.	—	
	10th		.	.	.	—	
	11th	Tweedragt	.	.	.	10	
	12th	Rest day	.	.	.	—	
	13th	Elands River Station	.	.	.	14	
	14th	Rest day	.	.	.	—	
	15th	Christiana Hall	.	.	.	11	
	16th	Pretoria	.	.	.	12	MILES. DAYS.
						—	461 in 49
	17th	} Rest days (2)	.	.	.	—	
	18th		.	.	.	—	
	19th	Olifantsfontein	.	.	.	20	
	20th	Vlakfontein	.	.	.	15	
	21st	Springs	.	.	.	8	
	22nd	Moycedale	.	.	.	17	
	23rd	Heidelberg	.	.	.	8	
	24th	} Rest days (3)	.	.	.	—	
	25th		.	.	.	—	
	26th		.	.	.	—	
July	27th	Malan's Kraal	.	.	.	11	
	28th	Kalkspruit	.	.	.	15	
	29th	Villiersdorp (O. R. C.)	.	.	.	13	
	30th	Potsdam	.	.	.	10	
	1st	Frankfort	.	.	.	10	
	2nd	} Rest days (2)	.	.	.	—	
	3rd		.	.	.	—	
	4th	Aasvogel Krantz	.	.	.	17	
	5th	Paardebock	.	.	.	12	
	6th	Reitz	.	.	.	15	
	7th	Viljoens Hoek	.	.	.	20	
	8th	Bethlehem	.	.	.	12	
						—	203 in 20
	9th	} Rest days (6)	.	.	.	—	
	to		.	.	.	—	
	14th		.	.	.	—	

					MILES.
July	15th	Grootelagte			7
	16th	Witklip			13
	17th	Frieselfontein			16
	18th	Rietpoort			14
	19th	Palmietfontein			28
	20th	Riverzplatz			8
	21st	Vaal Kranz			12
	22nd	Rhenoster			22
	23rd	Shepstone			13
	24th	{ Stinkhoutboomfontein encamped at Vleyspruit .			18
	25th	{ <i>Rest days</i> (2)			—
	26th	{			
	27th	Wonderheuvel			11
	28th	Wilgebosch Drift			2
	29th	{			
	30th	{ <i>Rest days</i> (4)			—
	31st	{			
August	1st	{			
	2nd	{ Shepstone and back to Wilge- bosch Drift			26
	3rd	{ <i>Rest days</i> (2)			—
	4th	{			
	5th	Riebokfontein and back			10
	6th	<i>Rest day</i>			—
	7th	Bloemfontein			12
	8th	Parys			20
	9th	Lindeque Drift			17
	10th	Wetterenden (Transvaal)			20
	11th	Wolverdiend			20
	12th	Schoolplatz			20
	13th	Gwenfontein			29
	14th	Elandsfontein			8
	15th	Tweefontein			21
	16th	Brakfontein			10
	17th	<i>Rest day</i>			—
	18th	Kleinfontein			21
	19th	Zandfontein			20
	20th	Kaalfontein			18
	21st	Krügersdorp			22
	22nd	{ <i>Rest days</i> (2)			—
	23rd	{			
	24th	Banks Station. . . .			24
	25th	Krügersdorp			24

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				MILES.		
August	26th	<i>Rest day</i>	.	.	.	—
	27th	Diepsloot	.	.	.	15
	28th	Pretoria	.	.	.	19
					MILES.	DAYS.
					540	in 45
					<hr/>	
					1,592	in 161
					<hr/>	

CHAPTER LXXXII

AS the British army rapidly approached Kroonstad, their seat of government, the Boer leaders determined to make a serious stand forty miles south at the Zand River. Louis Botha brought 3,000 Transvaalers, and De Wet 5,000 Free Staters. The action, which was fought on May 10th, was the most important during the advance on Pretoria, though the results achieved seemed disproportionate to the preparations made.

The Boer right was under Botha's command, the left flank, twenty miles away, being held by De Wet. Roberts adopted a turning movement by cavalry, French, with the 1st and 4th brigades and some mounted infantry—4,000 men in all—being sent to the west of the railway to sweep round on to Botha's rear; while Broadwood was to make a similar movement on the east. A simultaneous attack was to be made on the Boer centre, and Tucker was ordered to draw nearer to Hamilton—the two acting together to force the Junction and Koolspruit Drifts over the Zand River.

On May 9th Tucker arrived within three miles of his drift, and Ian Hamilton at his. Hamilton, having ascertained that De Wet was trying to work round his flank, was ordered to come closer to Tucker and to cross with him at Junction Drift.

The double turning-movement was to take place next day. French surprised Botha, who was obliged to weaken his centre to strengthen his right, with the result that French met with considerable opposition, though the advance of the centre column was thereby rendered easier.

Tucker and Hamilton on the right had the chief fighting. The infantry occupied the drift on the night of May 9th. At 5.30 a.m. the two 5-inch guns began a big artillery duel, which ended in favour of the British. On the left, the centre, and the right the infantry were successful. At 11 a.m. Broadwood, with his cavalry brigade, some mounted infantry and one battery, started off on his turning movement. By a mistake the battery was recalled, and Broadwood could not fulfil his mission without it. He, in his turn, fancied that the recall of the artillery signified a critical situation on the right flank, and proceeded thither to give assistance. Sending a detachment under Colonel Fenwick of the Blues to occupy Ventersburg, he himself chased a Boer convoy, capturing some waggons and prisoners.

The day ended with a general retreat of the enemy, and the Winburg column bivouacked three miles south of Ventersburg. Next day a turning-movement by French on the left settled the fate of Kroonstad, which was forthwith hurriedly evacuated by the Boers and on the 12th occupied by the British.

To quote the diarist once more :—

May 9th.—Marched 10 miles to the Zand River and halted in sight of the river. The M.I. on our right were slightly engaged. The hills on the further side of the river appeared to be strongly held.

10th.—The action opened with a heavy Artillery duel. The Infantry then advanced, and occupied the drift and hills beyond, driving the enemy towards the north-east. The Cavalry occupied Ventersburg, bivouacking to the east of the town.

11th.—Marched to Blue Gum Spruit, and were joined by the Infantry after dark.

12th.—Marched to Kroonspruit, 4 miles south of Kroonstad, General French with the 1st and 4th Cavalry brigades having occupied Kroonstad.

14th.—Lord Roberts inspected the Brigade.

Kroonstad being abandoned, Heilbron became the seat of the Boer Government. During Roberts's stay at

Kroonstad from May 12th to the 22nd he despatched Ian Hamilton on an expedition to Lindley and Heilbron, partly in the hope of capturing President Steyn and the other members of his Government. The column had much trouble about supplies. On May 17th Broadwood captured Lindley, which was occupied by an infantry brigade next day. Lindley was evacuated on the 20th, the column reaching Heilbron on the 22nd, and being harassed throughout the march. De Wet's convoy of 200 waggons was, while retreating, pursued by Broadwood, who captured 15 waggons and 17 prisoners. The sole good result of this expedition was Botha's abandonment of his position on the Rhenoster River.

Hamilton, after leaving Heilbron, was ordered back to the railway, and was presently transferred from the right flank to the left, crossing in front of the central column, in order to support French. It was an awkward operation, but so well timed and well carried out that no confusion occurred. Hamilton on the 25th, the day he crossed the railway, sent his cavalry under Broadwood to occupy Boschbank Drift on the Vaal. On the morrow Broadwood helped French to drive away the enemy from some hills east of the Reit Spruit. By that evening the whole of Hamilton's column was across the Vaal. The diary thus sums up these operations:—

May 15th.—Marched east to Mereba, 6 miles.

16th.—Marched to Van Dyks Kraal, 20 miles.

17th.—Marched to Lindley, which the Cavalry occupied after some sharp fighting.

20th.—Marched north, skirmishing all day.

22nd.—Captured 14 wagons and some prisoners. Arrived about 1 mile south of Heilbron and bivouacked.

23rd.—Marched 12 miles to Kleinreitspan.

24th.—Marched *via* Vredefort Road Station to Arcadia and bivouacked. This being Her Majesty's Birthday, the whole force sang the National Anthem in bivouac.

25th.—Marched to the Vaal and occupied the Drift at Bosch Bank.

26th.—Crossed the river and bivouacked on the north bank.

27th.—Marched 15 miles to Quaggafontein.

28th.—Marched north to Brankorstfontein, where the Brigade halted in front of the Boer position. Lieut.-General French, with the 1st and 4th Cavalry Brigades, turned their right flank.

Although the northward march to Pretoria was never stayed, there was occasional opposition on the flanks. Soon after the Transvaal had been entered and Johannesburg was being threatened, French found himself in difficulties in an attempt on May 28th to occupy Rietfontein, 15 miles west of Johannesburg. He made a frontal attack—Hamilton securing his right flank—but with little success, and he withdrew by night south of the Klip River, intending next day to turn the Boer right. On May 29th he was joined by Ian Hamilton, who decided to make an infantry attack in front, while French should tackle Doornkop in flank with a cavalry operation to the left, Broadwood's brigade being lent him by Hamilton for this purpose. The main battle—chiefly an infantry action, for the artillery took but little part in it—is memorable for the charge of the Gordons. Meanwhile the cavalry to the west drew away many Boers from Hamilton's front. As the infantry gained the ridge facing them, the cavalry cleared the Boers from the hills west of the Klip River.

On the 30th Johannesburg was surrounded, and next day surrendered, Ian Hamilton's column going to its western suburb, Braamfontein. Mr. Krüger had left Pretoria, and the advance on that city was at once resumed. French, as before, was supported by Hamilton, and met with some opposition on June 3rd, when the Boers were discovered in ambush in a defile. All the mounted troops had to dismount and seek cover, the enemy being then driven out by artillery. The next day, Hamilton, who had marched from Diepsloot, across a spruit, was opposed by De la Rey on a ridge west of

Quagga Poort. A frontal attack seemed too difficult; but to the west, where the hills sloped down into the plain, Broadwood's cavalry and some mounted infantry were sent to turn the position. This movement, combined with a front attack by the infantry, caused the enemy to retreat hastily to Pretoria. Next day, June 5th, Lord Roberts entered the city.

Our diarist gives some interesting details :—

May 29th.—Marched north-west and followed General French's Division, while the M.I. were holding the enemy. Smith-Dorrien's Brigade meanwhile attacked the front of the enemy's position and carried it with great gallantry. The Cavalry bivouacked at Doornkop, after a short engagement with the enemy, who retired on Johannesburg.

30th.—Marched to Florida and bivouacked.

31st.—Lord Roberts occupied Johannesburg.

June 3rd.—Marched to Diepsloot on the Crocodile River.

4th.—Marched west on a turning-movement, but were ordered back to march straight on Pretoria. The Brigade was ordered round west of Pretoria, but was unable to pass a narrow gorge in the hills south of Pretoria, which was not occupied till dark.

5th.—Marched at daybreak straight on Pretoria, which had surrendered. After a short halt, the 2nd Cavalry Brigade was ordered to take up the outposts at Diedepoort, to the north-east of Pretoria. Arrived after dark, and the Household Cavalry Regiment occupied the Poort, with the remainder of the Brigade 3 miles in the rear.

It will be evident, even from so slender and defective an account of the great march, that the Household Cavalry's share in this arduous series of operations constitutes a notable addition to its long roll of distinguished achievements in the field. The severity of the strain on the troops is indicated by the fact that Lord Roberts's central column, with the addition of Ian Hamilton's—of which the Household Cavalry Regiment formed part—was reduced on the march from 38,000 men to 29,000, a diminution of nearly one-quarter of its strength. The cavalry suffered most, for, while the infantry loss was under 4 per cent. of its total, that of the cavalry—

between Kroonstad and Pretoria alone—exceeded 30 per cent. The 2nd Cavalry brigade lost 330 men out of 1,000 between May 19th—when they left Kroonstad—and June 9th, when the march ended. In default of the figures for the whole march these are sufficiently significant.

CHAPTER LXXXIII

UNDoubtedly the capture of Pretoria had discouraged the Boers. Their bravery was proved and their skill of fight undoubted. But the man of war needs more than this for his effectiveness. He must have a cause to fight for, and something tangible to represent that cause outwardly and visibly. The Boers would have been more than human if they had not felt disheartened as they realised that their seat of government was a railway-carriage.

Lord Roberts seized the moment to negotiate for peace; but, just when the prospect of ceasing hostilities seemed fairest, De Wet's extraordinary successes in the Orange River Colony put new heart into and stiffened the necks of his gallant countrymen. So it came about that General Botha, gathering together 7,000 men with twenty guns, took up a strong position on the line of heights fifteen miles east of Pretoria.

Lord Roberts was under no illusions as to the general situation. He knew that the cutting of his communications by De Wet was a danger to be guarded against; he knew that Botha's tenure of his present position constituted a serious menace to Pretoria. For the protection of the railway line south he despatched Kitchener with a sufficient force. For the pushing back of Botha he himself now took the necessary measures.

On June 7th Lord Roberts moved out of Pretoria with a force variously estimated at 14,000 and 16,000, with six heavy guns, sixty-four field pieces and some pom-poms, to

find Botha occupying a position of great natural strength. The Boer General, determined not to be the victim of any turning movement, extended his wings till his front—along a range of steep hills—was twenty-five miles long. The line faced due west, its centre being the Pienaar's Poort station of the Delagoa Bay railway, situated in a ravine. To the north ran a broken range of heights. To the south extended Donkerhoek and Diamond Hill—then a gap—then, with a slightly eastward trend, Mors Kop. In front of Diamond Hill a spur called Kleinfontein ran out into the valley through which flowed Pienaar's River. The valley, seven miles wide, had for its opposite boundary the Tigerpoort range of hills, which with one exception were held by the British. The southernmost point of the range was occupied by a German corps of the Boer army; and some lower plateaux extending across the south end of the valley to Mors Kop were held by the Heidelberg commando.

Lord Roberts never intended to fight a decisive pitched battle. His aim was to shift Botha from a dangerous propinquity to Pretoria. For this reason he held his centre back from any advance on the enemy's centre. Here Pole-Carew, with the Guards' brigade, some heavy artillery, and some mounted infantry, was stationed with orders to demonstrate with his guns. French, with the 1st and 4th cavalry brigade, was in command of the left wing, and was sent to attack the northern extremity of Botha's position. On the right, Hamilton was to assault Diamond Hill with his 2,200 infantry and 2,300 mounted infantry; while his cavalry was to turn Botha's left flank. Ian Hamilton selected Broadwood's brigade, numbering 700, inclusive of the Household Cavalry Regiment, to make a dash through the gap of which mention has been made, in order to reach Elands River station on the railway in Botha's rear. For the execution of this

movement Broadwood was to be supported on his right by Gordon's 3rd cavalry brigade and on his left by Ridley's mounted infantry.

The design, however, was frustrated. Gordon found the German corps on his flank and the Heidelbergers in his front too strong to be disposed of until the Derbyshire Regiment with two guns and some M.I. could lend him a hand.

Gordon then followed up Broadwood in the latter's easterly advance, and, though the Boers on the right flank fired on him at close range, he successfully held a low ridge on Tweedragt and thus covered Broadwood's right, whose left was well looked after by Ridley's M.I.

As the three mounted brigades crossed Pienaar's River, they were heavily shelled from Kleinfontein, besides being under the Heidelbergers' fire from their right rear on the south. Broadwood detached the 10th Hussars to the right to hold the enemy in check on that side. Just then some Boers from Diamond Hill had come down to dispute his passage. A section of Q Battery R.H.A. was ordered to sweep the way, but with its slender escort it came under the enemy's heavy fire at close range. Broadwood instantly sent the 12th Lancers to clear the front. At the head of sixty men Lord Airlie dashed off on his errand, and succeeded in driving away the Boers from the guns. At that moment, however, a strong party of Germans were sent down from Diamond Hill and under shelter of some rocks opened fire at point-blank range. Lord Airlie, having accomplished his special task, had barely given the word, "Files about," when he was mortally struck by a bullet, and before his party could get back two more officers and several men were hit.

Meanwhile the Boers on the right had crept up in front till they were within 200 or 300 yards, when they attempted to rush the guns on foot. Against them were

hurled two squadrons of the Household Cavalry Regiment under Colonel Calley.* The Life Guards and Blues, shouting with delight at the prospect of really getting in a blow, pounded over some mealie-fields in which lay hid a number of Boers, who fired at the cavalry from their places of concealment. The First Life Guards charged on the left of the line, the Royal Horse Guards on the right. The gallop had lasted for nearly a mile when Colonel Calley led the First Life Guards to the left and occupied some kraals. Captain Lord Sudley with the Blues went to the right, where they took up a position on a low ledge of rocks barely affording cover. Later on the Blues were reinforced by the Second Life Guards under Major Anstruther-Thomson.† The Boers, however, declined the invitation, and dispersed in all directions rather than gratify the troopers' evident desire to come to close quarters; and the further pursuit had to be abandoned owing to the horses' exhaustion. But the charge had saved the guns. The Regiment suffered the loss of one man killed and twenty-one horses hit.

Broadwood was now able to keep a ring for the operations of the infantry, whose bold advance up Diamond Hill was more successful than French's attempt to turn the Boer right. At nightfall on June 11th both flank attacks had failed, and both wings of Lord Roberts's army were left in awkward positions. But Ian Hamilton had good prospects of piercing the Boer line at Diamond Hill, and an attack was therefore ordered for next day. On the 12th, Ian Hamilton having received support from Pole-Carew, the attack on Diamond Hill began shortly

* The Fifteenth also charged in pursuit of the enemy. (Meade's *Journal*.)

† Charles Frederick St. Clair Anstruther-Thomson, b. 1855, joined 2nd Life Guards '74, major '95, South Africa '99-1900, D.S.O. '00, Lt.-col. com. 2nd Life Guards.

after noon. The crest of the hill was ultimately rushed and was soon cleared of the enemy, who, however, retired to a strong position further east.

Ian Hamilton now held the whole of the Diamond Hill plateau, the key of the Boer position, and during the ensuing night Botha evacuated the whole of his line. Ian Hamilton at once gave chase. The mounted infantry caught the Boer rearguard, driving them away in confusion. On the right Broadwood's cavalry pursued the fugitives to the railway below Witfontein, and were then recalled to bivouac at Elands River. Lord Roberts had carried out his special purpose, and his troops were brought back to Pretoria to rest and refit.

CHAPTER LXXXIV

THE Household Cavalry Regiment, after three days' rest in their bivouac outside Pretoria, marched on June 17th to Olifantsfontein, the initial stage in a "trek" which, if marked with comparatively little fighting, was to test their powers of endurance to the uttermost. The great De Wet hunt was about to begin, and the 2nd Cavalry Brigade was placed under Sir Archibald Hunter, General Ian Hamilton being temporarily incapacitated by a serious accident. On June 19th Captain the Hon. A. Meade, R.H.G., was appointed Provost Marshal to Broadwood. A few days later Lieut. the Earl of Wicklow, Second Life Guards, was appointed Signalling Officer to the same General; and on July 3rd Captain Lord Sudley, R.H.G., was appointed his Acting D.A.A.G. The itinerary is thus recorded:—

June 19th.—Marched to Olifantsfontein.

20th.—Marched to Kleinfontein.

21st.—Marched to Springs.

22nd.—Marched to the Nigel Mine, north of Heidelberg.

23rd.—A deep fog in the morning; moved off as soon as the fog lifted; cleared the kopjes to the east, and occupied Heidelberg.

27th.—Marched to Malan's Kraal under the command of General Hunter, General Hamilton having been injured by a fall.

28th.—Marched to Kaalspruit.

29th.—Marched to Villiersdorp on the Vaal River.

30th.—Marched to Potsdam.

July 1st.—Occupied Frankfort, and released 13 prisoners of the Derby Regiment.

3rd.—General Macdonald joined the force with a convoy. Lieut.-Colonel Miles arrived and took over the command of the Household

Cavalry.* Lieutenant the Hon. G. Ward brought up 51 men and 56 horses.

4th.—Marched to Aasvogel Krantz; a hard frost.

5th.—Marched to Vlakfontein, on the road to Reitz.

6th.—Occupied Reitz.

From Reitz Hunter sent the 2nd Brigade to Viljoens Hoek, twenty miles south, where Broadwood received a heliograph message from General Clements that he and General Paget had occupied Bethlehem. Here two days later Hunter assumed command of the Eighth Division, consisting of the 12th Brigade, the 2nd Cavalry Brigade, the 2nd M.I. Brigade, the Highland Brigade, and two batteries R.F.A., besides Paget's and Clements' Brigades. It was hoped with some confidence to corner the enemy, who, about 7,000 strong, had retired southwards and taken up naturally strong positions in the recesses of the Brandwater Basin.

De Wet was fully alive to the danger of his situation, and made immediate preparations to quit. He succeeded in making good his own escape northwards on the night of July 15th with 2,600 men, 4 guns and 460 waggons, over Slobbert's Nek. The great Boer leader left strict injunctions that the rest of his men were to follow in his wake twelve hours later, but, with the exception of one small band of Free Staters, he was destined to see no more of his following under arms—the surrender of Prinzloo to General Hunter occurring a fortnight later.

De Wet's escape was quickly discovered by Broadwood, who on the 15th had been despatched along the Senekal road, and who now with his own brigade, strengthened by 700 M.I. under General Ridley and two days later by the

* Charles Napier Miles, 1st Life Guards; b. 1854, lieut. '75, capt. '82, Egypt. camp. '82 (medal and clasp, Khedive's bronze star), major '95, lt.-col. 1st L.G. '95-1902, com. Household Cavalry Regt. in S. African war from July '00 (despatches), C.B. '00, M.V.O. '01.

1st Derbyshire Regiment and two guns R.F.A. with some other details, hurried off in pursuit. Broadwood had been advised from headquarters that De Wet's objective was Heidelberg, and he was recommended to take that direction himself. Relying, however, on his own more "up-to-date" information, he assumed the responsibility of launching his force *en l'air* and striking out for the railway. Had he shirked this bold resolution, De Wet would most certainly have captured a convoy of first-rate importance in the neighbourhood of Lindley, and have further destroyed the railway-line at Rhenoster. Even as it was, he managed to blow up the line in two places on two consecutive occasions.

A slight skirmish occurred on the 16th, but it was not until three days later that Broadwood fairly trod on his enemy's tail at Palmeitfontein, where, in a sharp action with Theron which lasted until dark, he did some serious damage, with a loss to himself of twenty-one officers and men.

That same morning De Wet himself had knocked up against Colonel Little and his Brigade, seven miles from Lindley—which, by the way, had just been evacuated for about the fifth time. Although in superior force, De Wet contented himself with preventing Little from joining Broadwood, and then hurried on to the railway line, which he reached on July 21st. He crossed it himself at Serfontein, and, being occupied with his convoy, abstained from molesting a passing train. Theron, however, who traversed the line a few miles off at Honingspruit, being unencumbered by baggage, held up another train, helped himself to everything he wanted, and cheerfully rejoined his leader.

Broadwood reached the railway at Roodeval late on July 22nd, but, hampered by bad drifts and handicapped by lack of supplies, was unable to get in a blow at his

enemy, who, lobbing steadily along, had arrived at Mahernspruit. The following day, however, having filled up his waggons, Broadwood pushed on to Shepstone's Drift on the Vredefort road, where he joined hands with the 3rd Cavalry Brigade, the commander of which came under his orders.

On July 24th a brisk encounter occurred between pursuer and pursued. Broadwood had pushed forward Ridley's M.I. to pounce on some Boer waggons at a place between Vredefort and Reitzburg bearing the euphonious name of Stinkhoutboomfontein. The waggons were annexed, but De Wet, hearing the firing, came up with all available men and two guns, and the M.I. were obliged to fall back. The 2nd Cavalry Brigade hurried forward to cover their retirement, which was not effected without thirty-nine casualties.

De Wet now went into laager at Rhenosterpoort with a position so well chosen that Broadwood with his mounted troops could not hope to make any impression on a quarry standing at bay. It behoved him therefore to watch his enemy's line from Wilgebosch Drift through Wonderheuvel and Leeuw Spruit to Vredefort, while the situation was being reviewed at headquarters.

The diary says :—

July 7th.—Marched to Viljoens Hoek.

8th.—Marched to Bethlehem, which had been occupied by General Paget's force on July 7th.

10th.—Lieut.-Colonel Calley left with the 3rd Cavalry Brigade on march to Heilbron, to proceed to Bloemfontein to get clothing for the men.

15th.—Marched with great haste towards Senekal.

16th.—Engaged the enemy, who retired; 3,000 of the enemy, under De Wet and Steyn, escaped from Golden Valley, where they were hemmed in. Bivouacked at Duikfontein.

17th.—Pursued the enemy in the direction of Lindley, bivouacking at Vischfontein.

18th.—Marched to Rietpoort.

19th.—Came up with the enemy's rearguard at 3.30 p.m. and were engaged till dark. Bivouacked at Palmietfontein.

July 20th.—Marched across the Rhenoster River.

21st.—Marched to Vaal Kranz.

22nd.—Marched to the railway at Roodeval.

23rd.—Marched to Shepstone on the Vredepoort road, 17 N.C.O.'s and men sent into hospital.

24th.—Were engaged near Vredefort. The 1st Life Guards' Squadron were the advanced guard; they fired all their ammunition and were relieved by a squadron of the 10th Hussars. The Brigade retired and joined the 3rd Cavalry Brigade at Vredefort.

27th.—Marched to Wonderheuvel under Artillery fire all the afternoon.

28th.—Marched to Wilgebosch Drift.

Lord Roberts determined that no stone should be left unturned to effect De Wet's capture, which would in all probability end the war, and despatched Lord Kitchener to take charge of the next movement, knowing that if anything could circumvent the subtle plans of his redoubtable opponent, the masterly generalship and unrivalled driving power of his famous lieutenant could be relied upon for success. Lord Kitchener reached Wonderheuvel on August 5th, and found the cordon tightly drawn on the south bank of the Vaal; so that with Lord Methuen and General Smith-Dorrien closing in from the south and east on the north bank, De Wet's escape seemed almost a physical impossibility.

The Boer General crossed the river early on the 6th at Schoeman's Drift, and on the following day Methuen's guns were heard by Kitchener, who ordered Broadwood to push on to a drift four miles west of De Wet's passage of the previous day. Meanwhile, the 3rd Cavalry Brigade was to move north-west to the river, and Ridley was to throw a patrol across it at Parys. On August 9th Kitchener, bent on blocking Lindeque, so that De Wet should not double back over the river, arrived at that drift with the two cavalry brigades and Ridley's M.I., and crossing the river early on the 10th directed the march nearly due north well to the enemy's right.

Now began a delirious pursuit; at one moment the

British column were so hot on the scent that their hopes rose to fever heat only to be dashed down again by a growing consciousness that they had to reckon with an enemy of almost uncanny skill and mobility. For five days and nights the chase was sustained with little regard for repose or food, and at such high pressure as fairly to "stretch" the Boer General.

Nor was Methuen a whit less energetic. Early on August 10th, having begged Broadwood to bear well to his right, he struck westwards himself, so as to "sandwich" the enemy effectively. Unluckily a message to Smith-Dorrien at Bank Station to throw himself across De Wet's path never reached its destination, and that General was unable to prevent the Boers crossing the railway line on the 10th. De Wet had still the Magaliesberg range to negotiate; the only three passes were Magato Pass, Olifants Nek and Commando Nek; at the latter was Baden-Powell, and it was understood that Ian Hamilton was sitting tight at Olifants Nek. Methuen was convinced that if he could block the Magato Pass the game would be ours, and turned off from the direct track for that purpose. Kitchener with the cavalry and M.I. arrived, after a specially toilsome march, late on August 11th at Welverdiend, where he was joined by Smith-Dorrien. Still keeping to his right, Kitchener pressed on throughout the 12th, hampered by a bad drift but not halting till long after dark, and starting again at 3 a.m. on the 13th, when Broadwood was instructed to press his horses to the utmost, and to have no thought of his baggage.

All were animated with eager expectancy at the prospect of running the enemy to earth, while with every mile his fate seemed sealed more surely, his abandoned horses and oxen, which strewed the path, testifying to his failing powers.

On August 14th Broadwood started at 2 a.m., while the M.I., who had bivouacked a few miles further back, moved even earlier. Methuen, to keep the fugitives away from the west, sent off his mounted columns with half a day's rations at 1 a.m. and successfully drove them eastwards. At 5 a.m. Broadwood got in touch with the Boer rear-guard. The hour had surely come; messages were sent back to Lord Kitchener, who was bringing up the infantry at almost incredible speed. The all-absorbing thought in Kitchener's mind was "Olifants Nek"—surely it must be all right. But De Wet knew better. Ian Hamilton, misled by a concatenation of unfortunate mischances, instead of holding the Nek, thought he would effectively block it by continuing his westward march; and De Wet, swinging sharply southwards under the mountain, slipped like an eel through the undefended pass!*

The diary thus traces the De Wet hunt:—

July 29th to August 7th.—Patrolling the country in the neighbourhood of Rhenoster Kop.

7th.—Marched to Bloemfontein near Roodeval.

8th.—Marched through Vredefort to Grooteland near Parys on the Vaal.

9th.—Marched to Lindeque Drift.

10th.—Crossed the Vaal.

11th.—Marched to Welverdiend Station.

12th.—Marched to Witkyk.

13th.—Marched to Gwenfontein, and got into touch with Lord Methuen's column.

14th.—Marched at 2 a.m., skirmishing with the enemy at 4.45 a.m. and halted at Spitzkop.

* "I am sure it was not Broadwood's fault that De Wet was not captured. On the other hand, it certainly was due to General Broadwood's unceasing energy that De Wet was unable to 'stick up' any weak garrison, or to do any harm worth speaking of. De Wet really did nothing and was chased up to Vredefort, where he remained in the mountains for a week or two. Then he bolted across the Vaal up north to Olifants Nek, shelled from beginning to end, given no rest, and never permitted to do anything but retire; after which he broke up his force and went down south again." (Capt. Meade's Journal.)

APPENDIX

THE state of mind induced by the South African experiences of the Household Cavalry Regiment found humorous expression in the subjoined verses :—

A SOUTH AFRICAN DREAM,

BY

“ A CAVALRY SUBALTERN.”

I DREAMT that while I struggled with
Some liver mixed with sand
There came a laggard orderly
With a paper in his hand,
On which was writ in characters
No mortal man could read,
“ The force will be in readiness
To march at frightful speed
Towards a spot unknown to us
Which may be best described
As either in our front or rear
Or p'r'aps on either side.
And as the tracks are difficult
And rather hard to find,
We think it best that those in front
Should follow those behind.
The hour of march is 2 p.m.,
Or four, or half-past seven,
Provided that no orders come
At nine or at eleven.
The baggage will be left behind,
Or else will lead the advance ;
We think that luxuries like food
Are better left to chance.
We are informed the enemy
Are somewhere here or there,
But if this should not be the case
They're probably elsewhere.

We have good reason to believe
 Their force is large or small,
 And furnished with some 50 guns
 Or else no guns at all ;
 Commanded by one C. De Wet,
 Which seems a little queer,
 As someone else reported him
 Five hundred miles from here.
 It gives me pleasure to report
 That Krüger and that Steyn
 Are in nine different places
 All ending in -fontein ;
 That Botha has surrendered and
 Is fighting to the death,
 And De la Rey is either well
 Or dead from want of breath.
 A British general has destroyed
 A non-existent force,
 And storm'd a place that wasn't held
 With most terrific loss.
 Advanced guards will be furnish'd by
 The Tenth Hussars, of course.
 P.S. You'll also furnish two
 Flank guards, and picquets three.
 The rest I'll tell you later on.
 Yours truly, (signed) T. B."

CHAPTER LXXXV

THE disappointment of the British was intense. To have "trekked" and trudged almost incessantly for so many days, and to be baulked of the prey just when the outstretched hand was apparently grasping it, was cruelly discouraging.

Happily a bit of good news was to hand. The De Wet pursuit must, it was true, be switched off; but Kitchener had another task of imperative importance to perform. Intelligence came in that Colonel Hore, who, with his force of 500 Australians, was besieged by De la Rey at Brakfontein on the Elands River, had not, as false rumour had affirmed, succumbed. His garrison had been escorting a convoy, and had been happily able to take up a good position before being surrounded. A curiously abortive attempt at relief on the part of Sir F. Carrington had only served to redouble the attention of the besiegers, and in the course of the heavy bombardment, which was continued incessantly for ten days, it was calculated that 1,800 shells penetrated the lines; while night attacks were carried out to prevent the besieged from procuring water. Hore's dauntless energy and the dogged courage of his colonial troops forbade any surrender, and Kitchener, nerving his sorely-tried cavalry for a last sprint, started at dawn on August 15th with the Household Cavalry Regiment in advance. Traversing the thirty-five miles at best speed, he rode into the Elands River Camp on the following morning, contemptuously brushing aside the slight resistance offered—chiefly in sniping form—

by a few lingering besiegers, the bulk of whom had made off the previous evening. Hore had to report 75 casualties, besides the loss of nearly all his animals, and the skilful excavations made for shelter alone saved his force from annihilation.

Two days later the Household Cavalry Regiment started for Pretoria *viâ* Krügersdorp, with a diversion to Banks Station on the 24th to lend a hand to the C.I.V.'s under the Earl of Albemarle, who, on receiving De la Rey's invitation to surrender, had returned the laconic reply: "Let 'em all come." The march to Krügersdorp was in the first two stages marked by a few comparatively harmless backhanders from De Wet, who, having given up his proposed raid on Pretoria, and having merely evoked from Baden Powell a sarcastic rejoinder to his demand for the surrender of Commando Nek, was now making his way back with his attenuated force to the Orange River Colony.

The diary describes the itinerary:—

August 15th.—Marched west to relieve Colonel Hore at Elands River, and bivouacked at Twiefontein.

16th.—Marched to Elands River, and relieved Colonel Hore's force after a slight skirmish.

18th.—Marched to Kleinfontein; a slight skirmish.

19th.—Marched to Zandfontein on the Johannesburg road.

20th.—Marched to Kaalfontein.

21st.—Marched to Krügersdorp.

24th.—Marched to Banks Station to relieve the C.I.V., who had been attacked by De la Rey.

25th.—Returned to Krügersdorp.

27th.—Left Krügersdorp; were attacked soon after marching; the Boers retired about mid-day; we halted at Diepsloot.

28th.—Marched to Pretoria and bivouacked on the west side of the town.

29th.—Got clothing for the men for the first time since our leaving home.

30th.—A draft of 20 men joined from home.

The Household Cavalry Regiment reached Pretoria on August 30th, having marched some 1,200 miles in

the preceding four months, and remained in camp at Bezuidenhoot for three weeks. On September 23rd the 2nd Brigade was ordered to the Rustenburg district, to take part in some operations with Clements. Colonel Fenwick of the Royal Horse Guards was appointed *pro tem.* commandant of Rustenburg, and his régime there, even during the short term allotted to him, was productive of some excellent results.

On the 26th Broadwood put in some good work, driving northwards Steenkamp's commando of 500 burghers, who had been told off by De la Rey to obstruct him. The next week was occupied in patrolling duties, when a good many prisoners and waggons were captured, and on October 3rd the Brigade came into Rustenburg with a convoy for Methuen. On the 7th Broadwood went on a wide sweeping expedition into the Rushveldt, north of Rustenburg, meeting Clements at Commando Nek on the 11th.

This proved to be the last offensive movement of the Household Cavalry Regiment, for on the 12th Broadwood received orders to forward them to Pretoria with a view to their embarkation for home.

The diary concludes with an account of the operations round Rustenburg :—

September 23rd.—Marched to Bloemfontein *en route* for Rustenburg.

24th.—Marched through Commando Nek to Wolhunter's Kop.

25th.—Marched to Bronkspruit.

26th.—Marched; the 1st Life Guards' Squadron being left to cover a convoy through the Nek near Rustenburg, repulsed the enemy, who attacked the convoy. Bivouacked near Rustenburg.

27th.—Moved nearer to Rustenburg.

28th.—Marched to Magato's Nek, and halted on the further side.

October 1st.—Marched out with the 12th Lancers and M.I., and bivouacked without food or water.

2nd.—Were engaged about daybreak; drove back the enemy on Kaffir Kraal, capturing 12 waggons and 10,000 rounds of ammunition.

3rd.—Returned to Rustenburg.

9th.—Marched to Kaffir Kraal.

October 10th.—Marched to Zand Drift on the Crocodile River.

11th.—Marched to Zoutspandrift and thence to Wolhunter's Kop. The Regiment were ordered to hand over 242 horses to the 10th Hussars and 12th Lancers.

12th.—Took over the sick horses of the 10th and 12th and marched as the advanced guard of the convoy to Bloemfontein. General Broadwood said farewell to the Household Cavalry Regiment.

13th.—Marched to Pretoria—Daspoort Nek.

19th.—Paraded in the Market Square, the 1st Life Guards' Squadron being 100 strong.

20th.—The Regiment marched west at 5.30 p.m., in the direction of Rietfontein.

General Broadwood wrote a farewell letter to the Commanding Officer of the Household Cavalry Regiment. couched in approving terms :—

Elandskraal,
October 19th, 1900.

MY DEAR MILES,

On getting back to the wire after beating the Magaliesberg, I was sorry to hear you had not yet got off home.

If the authorities did not mean sending you straight off, they might as well have left you with us till they were ready for you.

I miss you all greatly, and can never wish to see a better regiment under my command.

I remember apologising to Neeld soon after I got the command of the Brigade for giving the Household Cavalry rather more than their fair share of work; but, as I explained then, they always did well anything I asked them to do, and never raised any difficulties.

I should be very much obliged if you would let the officers and men know how greatly I appreciated the keenness and dash which they always showed.

Yours sincerely,
R. G. BROADWOOD.

The Regiment reached Pretoria on October 24th, and on the following day paraded with other troops in the market square, when the annexation of the Transvaal was proclaimed. Lord Roberts subsequently addressed the Household Cavalry, thanking them for their splendid services. He said that, although when next he should see them they would be clad in more gorgeous uniform, they

could never do any which should surpass the khaki in its honourable associations.

On October 30th the Regiment entrained for Capetown, Lord Kitchener being present at the station at Pretoria to bid them good luck. The embarkation on the *Hawarden Castle* took place on November 7th, and the ship had just sailed when there arrived the ill news of the surrender of Dewetsdorp. It was understood that, had it been possible to stop the outgoing vessel, the Household Cavalry Regiment would have been recalled for further work.*

The *Hawarden Castle*, with the Household Cavalry Regiment and the Canadians on board, on the morning of November 29th reached Southampton, where a hearty greeting was given to the troops. The voyage had been propitious, marred only by the sad death at sea of a trooper of the First Life Guards, whose wife—all unconscious of her widowhood—had come to meet him.

The Second Life Guards and the Blues proceeded to London, Paddington Station being profusely decorated in their honour, and marched respectively to Hyde Park and Regent's Park Barracks. The First Life Guards' Squadron, under Colonel Miles, journeyed to Windsor, where, on their way to the Cavalry Barracks, a supreme honour awaited them.

The Queen, who a year before had gone to bid her soldiers farewell, now wished on their return to greet them in her own home. The reception was entirely private, only some members of the Royal Family and Her Majesty's immediate attendants being present.

The weather remembered its traditions, for, although it was raining sharply when the detachment left the station, the downpour ceased altogether as the Castle

* Several officers and non-commissioned officers of the Household Cavalry subsequently returned to South Africa and took part in the latter stages of the War, either on Special Service or with the I.Y.

gates were reached, and a pale ray of afternoon sun stole out. Her Majesty drove on to the lawn in front of the Victoria Tower, and commanded that the Squadron should march past her in fours, and then be drawn up in line beside her carriage. Bending forward so that all should hear her words, the Queen said, "It is with feelings of great pleasure and deep thankfulness that I welcome you home after your gallant and arduous services in the war in South Africa, just a year after I bade you farewell. The hopes I then expressed have been amply fulfilled. Alas! the joy of your safe return is clouded over by the memory of sad losses of many a valuable life, which I—in common with you all—have to deplore."

So, in the failing November light, under the shadow of her mighty Castle, the Queen looked for the last time on her bodyguard, whose service of loyal love had always been to her a peculiar source of pride. It was well that the men who stood first on the roll of her defenders should be the last to salute her august presence—the last to hear her gentle words. They would see her face no more: one final duty was in store for them, when, but two short months later, they guarded her progress to the quiet resting-place where the great Sovereign sleeps who, proud to call herself a soldier's daughter, proved herself through life the Soldiers' Friend.

ON AUGUST 9TH, 1902, KING EDWARD THE SEVENTH,
ATTENDED AND ESCORTED THROUGHOUT HIS PROGRESS
BY HIS HOUSEHOLD CAVALRY—WHO OWN HIM AS ALIKE
THEIR COLONEL AND THEIR SOVEREIGN—ENTERED THE
ABBAY CHURCH OF WESTMINSTER, AND WAS ANOINTED,
CROWNED, AND ACCLAIMED KING.

DOMINE SALVUM FAC REGEM NOSTRUM EDWARDUM

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